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KINSHIP TO KINGSHIP
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
STUDIES IN THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ZAGROS

By

STUART CARRUTHERS BROWN

Department of Near Eastern Studies

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto

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PROGRAM OF THE FINAL ORAL EXAMINATION
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

OF

STUART CARRUTHERS BROWN

3:00 p.m., Monday, December 17, 1979

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KINSHIP TO KINGSHIP: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This study tackles three interlocking problems in the archaeology and history of the Zagros mountains of western Iran in the first half of the first millennium B.C. Our historical knowledge of the Zagros area in this period is largely derived from Neo-Assyrian epigraphic sources, supplemented to a limited degree by contemporary Urartian and Neo-Babylonian sources and the later history of Herodotus.

From these we learn that in the late ninth century B.C. the lowland Mesopotamian state of Assyria embarked on a phase of imperialistic expansion throughout the Ancient Near East. In the eastern sector of the empire, Assyrian armies repeatedly thrust into the Zagros mountains to establish and maintain a system of provinces and tributary states. The objectives of this protracted imperialistic activity have never been satisfactorily elucidated.

The economic symbiosis of the Zagros mountains with the Mesopotamian lowlands to the west had long been a theme in the prehistory and history of the Tigris-Euphrates region before the rise of the Neo-Assyrian empire. The hypothesis advanced here is that, as an increasingly urbanized and growing Assyrian population became commensurately vulnerable to any disruption in the flow of goods and materials from the eastern mountains, the Assyrian kings sought to systematize and promote the economic symbiosis of the two adjacent ecological zones.

Concurrent with the later stages of the Neo-Assyrian occupation of the central Zagros, a Median chiefdom centred on Ecbatana (Hamadan) moved to political unification with other Median polities and assumed the role of a predatory state which, by the end of the seventh century B.C., had conquered Assyria and established a short-lived Median empire. It is argued that this process of secondary state formation can be directly attributed to the catalytic effects of the socio-cultural and economic intrusion of the Assyrian state into the Zagros mountains.

A revised historical geography, the foregoing historical reconstruction, and new data from recent excavations and archaeological surveys in central-west Iran combine to undermine the previous paradigm of the culture history and archaeological sequence of the Iron Age of western Iran and to re-open the question of the archaeological identification of Iranian (Median) ethnolinguistic groups in that area. A revised comparative stratigraphy is proposed for central-west Iran and arguments are advanced in support of the hypothesis that the appearance of Iranian ethnolinguistic groups is probably to be associated with the micaceous buff ware ceramic horizon that in central-west Iran immediately succeeds the painted pottery horizon of the Late Bronze Age.

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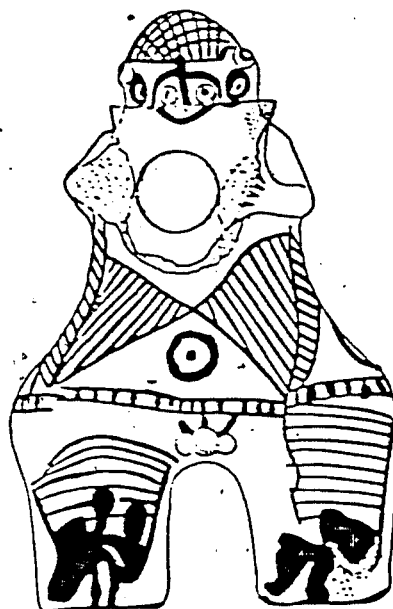
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KINSHIP TO KINGSHIP

Archaeological and historical
studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros



To my mother

Jamesina McBain Carruthers

in love and gratitude

"The warning that a period can be torn out of focus by interpreting it too resolutely with the help of the familiar outcome is one after my own heart, but that does not mean that criticism will have to disarm before every attempt at putting the implied principle into practice".

Pieter Geyl, "The American Civil War,"
Debates with Historians (New York, 1958),
p. 247.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
ABC	A. K. Grayson, <u>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</u> .
ABL	R. F. Harper, <u>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</u> .
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AGS	J. A. Knudtzon, <u>Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott</u> .
AHw	W. von Soden, <u>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</u> .
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AKA	E.A.W. Budge and L.W. King, <u>The Annals of the Kings of Assyria</u> .
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.
ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, <u>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</u> .
ARI, 2	A.K. Grayson, <u>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions</u> , 2.
AS, 5	A.C. Piepkorn, <u>Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal</u> , Assyriological Studies, 5.
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Bagh.Mitt.	Baghdader Mitteilungen.
Bib. Or.	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History.
DAFI	Délégation française archéologique en Iran.
EAK	W. Schramm, <u>Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften</u> .
HCI	F.W. König, <u>Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften</u> .
HEI	G.G. Cameron, <u>History of Early Iran</u> .
HKL	R. Borger, <u>Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur</u> .

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Abbreviations (continued).

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal.
NAT	S. Parpola, <u>Neo-Assyrian Toponyms.</u>
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications.
PKB	J.A. Brinkman, <u>A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia.</u>
PRT	E.G. Klauber, <u>Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit.</u>
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RCAE	L. Waterman, <u>Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire.</u>
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
SLA	R.H. Pfeiffer, <u>State Letters of Assyria.</u>
TCL III	F. Thureau-Dangin, <u>Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon, Textes cunéiformes du Louvre, III.</u>
UKN.	G.A. Melikishvili, <u>Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi.</u>
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
WO	Die Welt des Orients.
ZfA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

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Wilson Mizner, who coined so many brilliant aphorisms, once said, "When you steal from one author, it's plagiarism; if you steal from many, it's research." By Mizner's definition this work must be considered research. As scholars we shield ourselves from charges of plagiarism by careful documentation of data and concepts but even the most extensive and replete notes cannot adequately convey the immense intellectual and personal debts that one often incurs in bringing a piece of research to a successful conclusion. I am happy that I can acknowledge some of those debts here. The accounting, I fear, will not be total; there are undoubtedly several whose names should appear here but whose contribution now lies so far back in time and, unfortunately, in my mind that it eludes memory. From them, I beg forgiveness.

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historical geography and history of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros. In addition, I am grateful that I had the opportunity to act as his assistant-director for the Mahidasht archaeological survey project in 1975. For all of us there in Kermanshah, it was an exhausting but rewarding experience. For his unstinting assistance and trenchant criticism, I owe him my gratitude and sincerest thanks.

My major debt is to T. Cyler Young, Jr., and it is both intellectual and personal. To paraphrase slightly that felicitous line by Sir Isaac Newton, if in this work I have seen further than others, it has been by standing on the shoulders of a giant. It is difficult to ascertain where Young's ideas leave off and mine begin, so close has been the interplay between our minds. Nevertheless, I am entirely conscious of the magnitude of my debt to him as a teacher and as a friend. For his unfailing support and patience, for his affording me the opportunity to grapple with the problems of Iron Age Iran at first-hand, for his generosity in allowing me access to data and materials, I can never adequately express my gratitude.

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother, an exceptional woman who, single-handedly and single-mindedly, dedicated herself to the objective of providing her children with an opportunity, which she herself never had, to enter a world of learning and far horizons.

INTRODUCTION

In this work I have addressed myself to three problems in the history and archaeology of the Zagros mountains of western Iran in the first half of the first millennium B.C. Stated briefly my objectives are to determine the nature, extent, and underlying motivations for the intrusion of the state of Assyria into this area over a period of some two hundred years; to explain the emergence of the state of Media in the seventh century B.C.; and to establish a revised archaeological sequence for the Iron Age of the central Zagros. Each of these problems is discussed in greater detail below and, as will be readily apparent, they are interlocking in nature, the whole synthesis being greater than the sum of its parts. Following this preliminary discussion of the parameters of investigation, I have provided a brief outline of the progression of the argument as presented in the body of this work.

From the late ninth century B.C. and for the subsequent two hundred years, the lowland Mesopotamian state of Assyria embarked on a phase of imperialistic expansion throughout the Ancient Near East. In the eastern sector of the empire, Assyrian armies repeatedly thrust into the Zagros mountains to establish and consolidate a system of provinces and tributary vassal states. The imperialistic objectives that induced this Assyrian Drang nach Osten have never been satis-

factorily elucidated. To be sure, eastern tribute, tax, and plunder were brought back to Assyria but it is only occasionally, insofar as one may judge from the epigraphic sources, that in quantity and quality they rival similar imposts from other sectors of the empire. Strategic hypotheses have also been invoked by some scholars to explain this protracted Assyrian activity in the Zagros mountains. The necessity of checking Urartian and Median encroachment in the northern and central Zagros respectively was undoubtedly a concern of the Assyrian monarchs but it will be argued in this study that more fundamental processes guided the eastern policies of Assyria. The economic symbiosis of the Iranian mountains with the Mesopotamian lowlands had long been a theme in the prehistory and history of the Tigris-Euphrates region before the rise of the Neo-Assyrian state. The hypothesis advanced here is that as an increasingly urbanized and growing Assyrian population became commensurately vulnerable to any disruption in the flow of food and raw materials, the Assyrian kings sought to systematize and promote the economic symbiosis of the two adjacent ecological zones.

As a result of their close interaction with the indigenous polities of the Zagros, the Assyrians provide us with the earliest known historical reference to an Iranian ethnolinguistic group, the Medes.¹ About the latter we are told little explicitly and on the question of the origins of the Median state the Assyrian sources are mute. On first contact, the Medes appear to be fragmented into numerous petty chiefdoms and so they continue to be depicted until the end of the Assyrian presence in the Zagros. Yet quite a different picture is

suggested by the Median history of Herodotus and by extrapolation backwards in time from the events of the late seventh century B.C.

Concurrent with at least the later stages of the Neo-Assyrian occupation of the central Zagros, a Median chiefdom centered on Ecbatana (Hamadan) moved to political unification with other Median polities, raised an organized army, and assumed the role of a predatory state. By the end of the seventh century B.C., the Medes had achieved dominance over their erstwhile masters in Nineveh and had established an empire of their own that stretched from the Iranian plateau in the east to the Halys river in the west.

The foundations upon which this remarkable achievement was based have never been adequately exposed. It follows that such a phenomenon of secondary state formation, involving an evolution from socio-political systems based on kinship to one based on kingship, could not have come about without profound socio-political and economic consequences, however imperfectly these are reflected in the available archaeological and historical data. Accordingly, I will propose an explanatory hypothesis concerning the economic basis for Median state formation and the catalytic effect of the Assyrian presence in the Zagros on that process.

The third problem is archaeological in nature. Scarcely twenty years ago our knowledge of the Iron Age archaeological sequence of the central and northern Zagros based on stratified evidence could have been written on the head of a pin and still have left room for the angels. The excavation of the important late second to early first

millennia B.C. sequence at Hasanlu in the Solduz Valley southwest of Lake Urmia prompted a pioneering attempt by Young to synthesize the archaeological and historical data into a coherent picture of the cultural dynamics of western Iran.² Basically, the paradigm advanced in his study was one of three major and sequential ceramic horizons which, shortly thereafter, were designated Iron Age I, II, and III. The first of those horizons, typified by the introduction of grey ware pottery and marking a distinct cultural disjunction with the preceding Bronze Age, was plausibly connected with the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic groups in the Zagros mountains late in the second millennium B.C.

In the fifteen years that have elapsed since the appearance of Young's synthesis, there has been a sustained archaeological assault on problems of the Iron Age of western Iran. Increasingly, it has been recognized that much of the new data does not sit well with Young's generalizing paradigm and this is perhaps nowhere more true than in the central Zagros. In this area between Hamadan and Kermanshah excavations at three major Iron Age sites and a number of archaeological surveys together suggest that the Iron Age sequence in western Iran is considerably more complex than had hitherto been suspected. The time for a generalizing paradigm is past and there is a need for fine-grained regional sequences.

The archaeological identification of the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic groups in the Zagros mountains was thought to have been resolved by Young's original study. The historical geographical framework within which Young operated located Parsua, assumed to be connected

with the Persians, to the south-west of Lake Urmia in the general region of Hasanlu. The apparently intrusive grey ware horizon represented the sort of archaeological phenomenon in the right area and time period that one would expect of the arrival of a new ethnolinguistic group. A more recent revision of the historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros and the re-location of Parsua in the central rather than north-western Zagros has called Young's reconstruction into question.³ Synthesizing both the historical and archaeological evidence leads me to suggest that the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic elements in the central Zagros at least can be more convincingly associated with the Iron Age micaceous buff ware ceramic horizon that apparently succeeds the Bronze Age painted wares in this area.

Because of the interlocking nature of the problems under investigation and the resulting necessity to defer synthesis until the basic historical and archaeological documentation has been laid out, a brief discussion concerning the progression of the argument is mandatory.

Various attempts have been made in the past to write a history of Assyrian activities in the Zagros mountains, but always as part of a larger work. Landmark studies include Olmstead's History of Assyria (1923), Cameron's History of Early Iran (1936), and Diakonov's Istoria Medii (1956). Fresh perspectives and a number of recently discovered epigraphic sources have diminished the usefulness of these studies. In particular, a thorough re-examination of the historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros by Levine has radically altered the previously

assumed parameters of Assyrian penetration of the eastern mountains.⁴

In the first chapter of this work, I have briefly reviewed this new framework of historical geography and, in a few instances, some modifications have been proposed. The importance of this chapter cannot be overemphasized; the extent of Assyrian incursions into the Zagros is of fundamental importance in understanding the overall objectives of Assyrian imperialism in the east.

Following the historical geography is the historical narrative. Our historical knowledge of the Zagros area in the first half of the first millennium B.C. is derived almost exclusively from the military annals, royal inscriptions, and royal correspondence of the Neo-Assyrian state. Supplementary information can be gleaned from the inscriptions of the kings of Urartu, Assyria's northern rival, and, particularly for the seventh century B.C., from the contemporary Neo-Babylonian sources and the considerably later history of Herodotus. Historiographic considerations are therefore accorded some importance; the relevant Neo-Assyrian epigraphic sources are often heavily edited, frequently and frustratingly terse, and always biased.

The historical narrative is divided into five periods over four chapters in which I have attempted to weave whole cloth out of the various strands of evidence on the Assyrian presence in the Zagros mountains. Within each of the defined periods, the evidence is examined reign by reign and a thematic summary is provided at the close of the period. Standing by itself in the sixth chapter is an analysis of the historical information on the Medes provided by Herodotus. The first

six chapters therefore constitute an essential basis for the later historical and archaeological synthesis on the objectives of Assyrian imperialism in the Zagros and the rise of the Median state; the discussion of these topics is deferred, however, to the final two chapters, ten and eleven, so that the archaeological data can be presented first.

In chapters seven and eight previous research into the Iron Age of western Iran is reviewed and new data from excavations and survey in central-west Iran are presented, analyzed and organized into a regional sequence. In chapter nine the implications of these studies are drawn out in an archaeological and historical synthesis of the culture history of the western Iranian Iron Age.

The history of an area is more than a documented series of events. We must seek to go beyond the particulars to those broad themes and generalities that ultimately explain culture process and the synthesis of archaeological and historical data and the testing of the one against the other is a particularly fruitful approach.

Accordingly, the last two chapters of this work are devoted to the elucidation of the objectives of Neo-Assyrian imperialism in the Zagros mountains and the factors that underlay the appearance of the Median state, the shift from kinship to kingship.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. For a discussion of the ethnolinguistic affinities of the Urartians, the Manneans, the Ellipians and the Elamites, the major non-Iranian groups in western Iran during the period under review, see R.N. Frye, The Heritage of Persia (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), pp. 59ff. The principal Iranian ethnolinguistic elements were the Medes, the Persians and the Scythians; Frye. pp. 68ff. The identification of the Neo-Assyrian gentile terms Madai and Ashguzai with the Medes and the Scythians respectively is securely established on historical, geographical, and onomastic grounds; T.C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," Iran, 5(1967), pp. 11ff. A similar equation of the Neo-Assyrian toponym Parsua and its variants with the Persians of Achaemenid Fars is much less secure; see pp. 17-18 below and espec. n. 45.
2. T.C. Young, Jr., "Proto-Historic Western Iran. An Archaeological and Historical Review: Problems and Possible Interpretations," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1963.
3. L.D. Levine, "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros," Iran, 11(1975), pp: 1-27 and Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 99-124.
4. Levine, 1973; 1974.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ZAGROS

No single problem contributes more to the difficulties of writing a history of Neo-Assyrian interaction with their provinces and tributary polities in the eastern mountains than the reconstruction of the historical geography of the Zagros. Unlike the Mesopotamian lowlands, and other areas in the Near East, in the Zagros mountains there has been no demonstrated continuity or preservation to the present-day of ancient toponyms with the sole exception of Hamadan (OP: Hagmatana; Gk: Ecbatana). This lack of fixed points and the ambiguity of the relevant epigraphic sources have together resulted in a wide divergence of scholarly opinion on the parameters of Assyrian penetration to the east.

Until less than a decade ago, it was commonly held that the Assyrian army had made incursions into Iran as far as the north central plateau.¹ Mount Bikni and the Salt Desert, two landmarks on the periphery of the Assyrian sphere of influence, were usually equated with Mount Demavend and the Dasht-i Kavir. A "minimalist" position has recently been advocated by Levine who has argued for more modest parameters. It is obligatory, since this issue is central to the present study, to review briefly the method and results of Levine's work.

All studies of the historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian period are handicapped by the fragmentary nature of the epigraphic sources. In the pioneering efforts of such scholars as Schrader, Streck and Billerbeck, additional impediments can be discerned in their theoretical and methodological approach. Perhaps the most fundamental of these was the uncritical use of epigraphic sources without consideration of their nature and relative reliability. Another major deficiency was the dearth of any first- or even second-hand knowledge of the areas that fell within the purview of their studies. Finally, the temptation to identify ancient toponyms with superficially homophonic modern names without regard for the rules of linguistic change too often seduced the scholar into proposing facile comparisons and locations.

A more reliable method is evident in the important study of Sargon's 8th palû campaign by Thureau-Dangin.² To compensate for his lack of personal familiarity with western Iran, Thureau-Dangin resorted to the use of travellers' accounts of the area and from these he attempted to establish correlations between modern landmarks and phenomena described in the text. However, the reliance on a single source and the exclusion of other relevant texts of equal historical value imposed blinkers on the vision brought to this study and the choice of one among several alternative routes often seems arbitrary.

It was with Speiser's study of the Zamuan campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II that historical geography assumed new systematic and critical dimensions.³ Combining a first hand knowledge of a limited geographical area with travellers' accounts of the same region, and

with due regard to the nature of the epigraphic sources at his disposal, Speiser's study remains an important contribution to the discipline of historical geography, however much one may quibble with the details.

A new plateau was reached with the appearance of Levine's study of the historical geography of the Zagros.⁴ In establishing a reliable data base Levine has employed strict historiographical criteria. Annalistic sources, particularly of the itinerary type, are considered of paramount importance, while general and summary inscriptions are relegated to a lower order of reliability. The explicit assumption of this study, that the order of toponyms in annalistic accounts reflects the actual geographical order, seems corroborated when applied to other, better-known areas. An important methodological consideration of this study is the manner in which it radiates out from Assyria, progressing from the known to the less-known to the unknown. This has resulted in a more restricted picture of Assyrian penetration of western Iran than was previously held. It is to be expected that future studies will continue to augment and modify this picture but it is my belief that the general perspective is not overly myopic and that, in broad outline, Levine's reconstruction will remain fundamental.

Before discussing individual toponyms that are to be located in the Zagros, it is desirable to establish those few constraints that assist in delimiting the area to which the search can be restricted. The situation is clearest towards the end of the eighth century B.C. when Neo-Assyrian involvement with the Zagros area was at its height and when few of the polities under scrutiny go unmentioned in the records of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. Both archaeological and epigraphical evidence may be adduced to establish in this time

period an Urartian occupation of the western and southern shores of Lake Urmia. In addition, two inscriptions of Argishti II Rusahini (714/13-695/85 B.C.) claim control of the areas east of Lake Urmia as far south as the southern slopes of the Kuh-i Savelan.⁵

Fixed points in the east are harder to establish and, in fact, there is only one of any certainty--Hamadan (OP: Hagmatana; Gk. Ecbatana), the ancient capital of Media. The case for using Ecbatana as a fixed point in this period rests on the account by Herodotus (I.98) of its foundation in the late eighth century B.C. For this we have at present no independent archaeological or historical corroboration but there is little reason to doubt the Herodotean story.⁶ Thus, we may assume that the Medes controlled the area east of the Kuh-i Alvand, the major barrier separating the Iranian plateau from the mountain valleys of the High Zagros. The extent of Median control east or west of this point cannot be determined with any precision as yet. To the south-east, the delimiting feature is the kingdom of Elam. Once again, it is hard to define a precise border for the northern part of Elam but it is generally agreed that the state incorporated part of southern Luristan.⁷

These parameters may be imprecise but they serve to establish rough guidelines for more detailed studies of the historical geography of the Zagros. Within an area delimited by southern Lake Urmia, the Kuh-i Savelan, the Alvand alignment, and southern Luristan, we must seek to locate all the major and minor polities of the eastern mountains that appear in the Neo-Assyrian epigraphic sources.

The Ancient Toponyms

The purpose of the following description of the ancient toponyms is twofold. Firstly, wherever I have found myself in essential agreement with other scholars on the location of a toponym, the discussion has been limited to providing a basic geographical definition without detailed recapitulation of the supporting evidence. Secondly, in a few instances, I have argued for a revised location and fuller documentation and discussion have been necessary. Following Levine's example, the toponyms are dealt in order of their proximity to Assyria and their contiguity with each other. The results of the entire discussion are embodied in a map of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros (fig. 2).

Kirruri

Early opinions on the location and extent of Kirruri, most notably from Streck and Billerbeck, were for a large area stretching east from Erbil all the way to Lake Urmia. Levine argues for a more restricted view and suggests that Kirruri coincides with the territory east of Erbil as far as Ruwanduz, and probably including the Shaqlawa area and the Dasht-i Harir. Given the evidence, no more specific boundaries can be suggested.⁸

Zamua

The northern and southern boundaries of Zamua were formed by the Lower Zab and Diyala river respectively, while the western and eastern boundaries were delimited by the Qara Dagħ and Avroman mountains. The toponym also occurs in two variant forms, Zamua ša bītāni and Mazumua. The epithet ša bītāni following a toponym has

caused considerable dissension of opinion among Assyriologists. It is often translated to mean "inner" but this is far from certain. Whatever the precise meaning, it is enough to note that Zamua and Zamua ša bītāni are at least in part synonymous. The latter term cannot refer to a completely different area, as was once suggested, but must be understood as a qualification, geographical or political, of the former term. Much the same argument may be applied to Mazamua; we are in the same geographical area, even if we do not clearly understand the implications of the variant toponym.⁹

Namri

The area covered by Namri can be located in the V-shaped territory formed by the north-west/south-east line of the Jebel Hamrin and the north-east/south-west course of the Diyala river. The northern limit of Namri would have been a line somewhere south of Kirkuk since Arrapha is never included as part of the province. The eastern limit was probably the Qara Dagħ range where Namri bordered on Zamua.¹⁰

Halman

The problem of the location of Halman and the implications of the variant toponym Arman have been thoroughly discussed by Levine. It was suggested that Halman be located in the Sar-i Pol area. Additional support for this location is supplied by a kudurru said to be from the Sar-i Pol region that, according to its inscription, was set up "in the land of the city of Halman."¹¹

Musasir

The Kelishin and Topzawa stelae helped narrow down the search for Musasir and, as early as 1895, Lehmann-Haupt suggested that the site must be located in the area north or north-east of Rowanduz. The problem of locating Musasir was taken up again recently by Boehmer who has conducted an archaeological survey in this general area and has advanced a variety of reasons for identifying ancient Musasir with the modern site of Mudjesir, ca. 6 kms. WNW of Sideka on the left bank of the Bora Chai. Whatever the ultimate results of further investigations at Mudjesir, there can be little doubt that Musasir must be located in this vicinity. It is, therefore, one of the few relatively circumscribed ancient toponyms in the Zagros.¹²

Hubushkia

In this jigsaw of historical geography, the key to the location of Hubushkia is the position of Musasir. On two occasions, the 31st palû campaign of Shalmaneser III and the 8th palû campaign of Sargon II, Assyrian armies marched directly from Hubushkia to Musasir, evidently without passing through any intervening polity.¹³ This substantial evidence for contiguity, in conjunction with a fairly secure location for Musasir in the Sideka region, makes a number of previously suggested positions for Hubushkia untenable.¹⁴ The polity must be located in the area north of the Upper Zab, which Sargon II crossed on his way to Musasir, and probably between Çolemerk to the west and the modern Turko-Iranian frontier to the east.¹⁵

Gilzanu

Three Neo-Assyrian monarchs, Tukulti-ninurta II, Ashurnasirpal II, and Shalmaneser III, refer to Gilzanu but only Shalmaneser III provides any locational information of consequence.¹⁶ In his 31st palû campaign, the Assyrian army entered Hubushkia and continued into Musasir from whence they pushed against the Urartian frontier, capturing several fortresses. The army then marched to Gilzanu where they received tribute from Mannea, Harrana, and Andia. The campaign continued to Parsua in the central Zagros and ended in Namri.¹⁷ An additional reference occurs in the 3rd palû campaign of Shalmaneser III. The campaign commenced with the capture of Til Barsip on the Euphrates, then swung north against Arzashkun, the royal city of Arame of Urartu. From Arzashkun, Shalmaneser attacked the cities of Aramale and Zanziuna before descending to the Sea of Nairi (Lake Urmia). Departing from the sea, he entered Gilzanu, continued on to Hubushkia and returned to Assyria through Kirruri and Erbil.¹⁸

The routes taken during these two campaigns suggest that Gilzanu was sandwiched between Hubushkia, Musasir, the Urartian frontier, Mannea, and the Sea of Nairi (Lake Urmia). On this basis alone, a location for Gilzanu on the western coastal plain of Lake Urmia seems likely. A closer scrutiny of the 31st palû campaign allows a little more precision in locating Gilzanu. If the account of the campaign is not misleading, the Assyrian army marched from Hubushkia to Musasir and then directly against the Urartian frontier. The choices of route from Musasir are constrained by geography. The Assyrians could either have marched northwards over difficult terrain

that would, in effect, have taken them back into Hubushkia again, or they could have penetrated the Kelishin pass to the east to gain the western coastal plain of Lake Urmia. Either there, or slightly further north, they must have reached the Urartian frontier. Without further penetration of Urartian territory, they would have been obliged to have doubled back down the west coast of Lake Urmia on their way to Parsua and the central Zagros. However, before reaching Mannea, the army stopped in Gilzanu and there received Mannean tribute. Thus, a location for Gilzanu in the Solduz-Ushnu region, south-west of Lake Urmia, best fits the historical evidence.¹⁹

After the reign of Shalmaneser III, Gilzanu disappears from the Neo-Assyrian epigraphic sources and evidently ceased to exist as a political entity. This phenomenon was undoubtedly due to its absorption by the nascent power of Urartu which pushed into the southern Urmia region no later than the late ninth century B.C.

Mannea

Probably the most important of all the Zagros polities, Mannea was evidently a composite political entity that included the areas of Surikash, Missi, Andia, Zikirtu and Uishdish. Strong centrifugal forces were at work in this union and the three latter areas or provinces frequently revolted from their Mannean overlord, necessitating punitive Assyrian campaigns. In the Neo-Assyrian sources, Urartu appears as the eminence grise manipulating the fractious elements of Zikirtu and Andia to its advantage and, at times, actually seizing control of Uishdish. However, at no stage do the Urartians claim control over the Mannean heartland, nor do the Assyrians ever have to

dislodge them from that area.

The location of all of these toponyms has been discussed thoroughly by Levine and, with the exception of Missi, I find myself in general agreement with his conclusions.²⁰ Surikash borders on Zamua, Allabria and Karalla and, given the defined locations for those, a position in the vicinity of modern Baneh seems consistent with the evidence.²¹ The Urartian inscriptions from Qalatgah in the Ushnu valley and Tash Tepe near Mianduab taken in conjunction with the Kuh-i Savelan inscriptions establish minimal limits for Urartian control of Azerbaijan.²² Archaeological evidence confirms an extended Urartian occupation of the western and southern shores of Lake Urmia from the late ninth century B.C. onwards but suggests that the limits established above from the inscriptions are maximum limits. While distinctive Urartian pottery has been identified in archaeological surveys along the south-west shore of Lake Urmia as far as Mianduab, none has been found between Mianduab and Mahabad to the south-west or between Mianduab and Bonab to the north.²³

From the Assyrian sources it is clear that Uishdish borders on Urartian territory and Levine therefore locates it around Mahabad immediately south of the Urartian controlled area south of Lake Urmia. However, the striking landmark of Uishdish was Mount Uaush, dramatically described in the account of the 8th palu campaign of Sargon II. This would suggest a location more to the north-east of Mahabad in the Maragheh area and the identification of Mt. Uaush with the 3,700 m. peak of Mt. Sahend immediately north of Maragheh.²⁴

The Mannean province of Zikirtu is most frequently mentioned in connection with Uishdish and was also subject to strong Urartian

influence. Levine's suggestion that Zikirtu was possibly located in the Zarineh Rud valley seems perfectly feasible but a position in the Qarangu Chai valley in the vicinity of modern Mianeh is more likely, given the proposed location for Uishdish.²⁵ Finally, the province of Andia evidently bordered on Zikirtu and was the one furthest removed from both Assyrian and Urartian influence. It should, therefore, lie somewhere to the south of Mianeh; to be more precise is impossible at present. Between the confines described above must have lain the Mannean heartland and the likeliest location would therefore be in the Zarineh Rud valley along the Mahabad-Saqqiz axis.²⁶

Missi is known to us as the most southerly of the various provinces of Mannea and, while never an important objective in itself, was a corridor area or link to a number of other polities such as Gizilbunda, Media, and the more easterly Mannean provinces of Andia and Zikirtu. After reviewing the evidence for the position of Missi, Levine concluded that it had to be located to the east of the Shahrizor plain in the Avroman Dagh mountains over near Lake Zeribor. This suggestion was pre-eminently based on the fact that, during his 4th palu campaign, Ashurnasirpal II refers to a city called Mesu that Zamuan refugees had converted into a stronghold. Mesu, Levine argued, was evidently a variant form of Missi.²⁷ For several reasons, this location is considered untenable. In the following discussion, I must anticipate conclusions concerning the location of a number of toponyms that have yet to be considered.

A re-examination of Ashurnasirpal II's 4th palu campaign permits us to define the location of the city of Mesu more closely. At the beginning of the campaign, Ashurnasirpal penetrated the Babite

pass (the modern Bazian pass through the Bazian Dagh mountains) crossed the Radanu river (the modern Tauq Chai), skirted the foot of Mt. Simaki, and then crossed the Turnat river (the modern Tanjero). These indications persuaded Speiser, in his study of this campaign, to identify Mt. Simaki with the Gwezha Dagh range just east of the Tanjero river and, unless there is some serious mistake in the other proposed identifications, this location cannot be far wrong. The campaign account describes Mesu as lying between Mts. Simaki and Aziru and Speiser consequently equated Mt. Aziru with the next range to the east, the modern Azmar Dagh, immediately east of Suleimaniya. Therefore, Mesu must also be located in the vicinity of Suleimaniya and within the confines of the province of Zamua as defined above.²⁸

The precise location of these toponyms is not as important as establishing the overall scope of Ashurnasirpal's Zamuan campaign and Speiser's reconstruction suggests that the part that includes references to Simaki, Aziru and Mesu was fairly limited in geographical extent. There is, therefore, no information in this campaign account that clearly establishes the Zeribor location for Mesu as Levine suggested. Mesu was a Zamuan city with no connection to the Mannean province of Missi other than a superficially homophonous name. More compelling evidence shows that Missi was adjacent to Parsua and Gizilbunda and relatively far removed from Zamua and Zeribor.

The most important sources for locating Missi are two annalistic accounts of the itinerary style. In such accounts, progression from one area to another is indicated by the use of the formula, "I departed X and entered Y," such notations providing the best evidence for establishing territorial contiguity between polities. The

sources in question are the accounts of the 24th palû campaign of Shalmaneser III and the 8th palû campaign of Sargon II. In both cases, it is clear that the Assyrians gained access to Missi, written as Messi in the Shalmaneser account, from Parsua and that the two areas are adjacent. In both cases, it is also clear that the purpose of moving through Missi was to gain access to points even further east, Shalmaneser III proceeding to Media and Sargon II to the eastern Mannean provinces of Andia and Zikirtu.²⁹

Two additional items of information should be noted in passing. Sargon II records that he received the tribute of Gizilbunda while in Missi and that he annexed Gizilbunda to the province of Parsua, thereby implying that they were adjacent areas. He also describes Gizilbunda as "barring the way like a barricade into the land of the Mannans and the Medes."³⁰ In short, Missi and Parsua were contiguous and Parsua and Gizilbunda were also contiguous. But what of the relationship of Missi and Gizilbunda? At this point, I would like to introduce an additional source that suggests the contiguity of these two areas as well. I refer to the Monolith inscription account of the 3rd palû campaign of Shamshi-Adad V.³¹

The evidently composite nature of this source tends to detract from its reliability for historical reconstruction and necessitates brief comment. The narrative begins in a normal annalistic style with the crossing of the Lower Zab river and Mt. Kullar, a route that leads into Zamua. The following section records the receipt of tribute from Hubushkia and from the people of the lands of Sunbi, Mannea, Parsua and Taurlu. We are then provided with a description of the defeat of the Mesaya people which ends with the phrase, "To Gizilbunda I marched."

The remaining portion of campaign was directed against Gizilbunda, Media, and Araziash. Comparing the three campaigns, we arrive at the following: 32-

Shalm. III 24th <u>palû</u>	Sargon II 8th <u>palû</u>	Shamshi-Adad V 3rd <u>palû</u>
Namri	Lower Zab Mt. Kullar Sumbi Surikash (Mannea)	Lower Zab Mt. Kullar Sumbi Mannea
Parsua	Allabria Parsuash	Parsua Taurlu
Messi	Missi (tribute from Gizilbunda)	The Mesaya
Media Araziash	Andia Zikirtu	Gizilbunda Media Araziash

Clearly, the route taken by Shamshi-Adad V corresponds to that taken at a later date by Sargon II and the gentilic form "Mesaya" must be derived from Missi. This suggests that the sequence of toponyms in Shamshi-Adad's campaign account are in strict order of line of march and that he passed directly from Missi to Gizilbunda.

Our conclusions to this point may be conveniently summarized in point form.

1. Messi, Missi and the gentilic form, Mesaya, refer to the same place.
2. In each case, Missi is one stage further along the campaign route than Parsua and, in each case, the campaign continues to points further east, be they Media or Andia and Zikirtu.
3. Parsua and Missi are contiguous; both Shalmaneser III and Sargon II explicitly claim to have moved directly from

the one to the other, and Shamshi-Adad V probably did likewise.

4. Parsua and Gizilbunda are contiguous; Sargon II annexed the latter to the former.
5. Missi and Gizilbunda are probably contiguous; this is strongly suggested by the course of Shamshi-Adad's campaign, and by Sargon's receipt of Gizilbundian tribute in Missi.

Thus, in Parsua, Missi and Gizilbunda, we have a triad of contiguous polities. Moreover, Sargon's description of Gizilbunda as lying athwart routes connecting Media and Mannea implies that Gizilbunda must have been located relatively east of Parsua. No other configuration would suffice. Since Missi is adjacent to both Parsua and Gizilbunda, it must be located either north or north-east of Parsua.

Yet another line of argument may be adduced in support of these conclusions. In his account of the 8th palû campaign, Sargon II records that the Mannean province of Surikash bordered on both Karalla and Allabria. From a number of annalistic sources of the itinerary style, we also learn that Allabria bordered on Parsua. Levine has argued for locating Surikash in the area of modern Baneh and Parsua in the northern Mahidasht. The position of Allabria is uncertain but the Sanandaj valley or an area immediately west of there seems the likeliest location.³³

The overriding concern, however, is that in Surikash, Allabria and Parsua we have an unbroken line of adjacent polities from as far north as the Baneh area down to the northern Mahidasht. It has already been established that Parsua, Missi and Gizilbunda are also

adjacent territories and that Missi and Gizilbunda must lie respectively north and east of Parsua. In short, there is no way to arrange all these polities in a pattern that would allow a Zeribor location for Missi and would preserve the contiguous relationships documented.

Translating relative locations into modern geographical terms is an exercise fraught with difficulty. Much depends on the location established for Parsua. On this point, I see no reason to dissent from Levine's suggested location in the northern Mahidasht. Allabria, for reasons which will be set out below, is probably to be located in the Sanandaj valley. Geographical constraints and feasible routes limit the possible locations for Missi and Gizilbunda. For the latter I would suggest a location in the Sonqor valley to the north-east of Kermanshah. Missi is probably to be located in the area stretching from the headwaters of the Rudkhaneh Talwar to modern Bijar. Both this area and the Sonqor valley are directly accessible from the Mahidasht, although the routes are not easy.³⁴

Karalla

The most important indication of the location of Karalla is the notice by Sargon II that, during his 6th palu campaign, he incorporated it into the province of Lullume (Zamua).³⁵ From this it can be inferred not only that the two areas are contiguous but that Karalla must lie to the east of Zamua in relative terms. The eastern border of Zamua is somewhat indefinite but probably roughly coincided with the Avroman Dagh mountains. Effective communication between Zamua and areas to the east of it can only be gained through the passes which lie behind Sulaimaniya and lead into the Zeribor basin which

is the location for Karalla suggested by Levine.³⁶

Allabria

Allabria bordered on Surikash and on Parsua and probably was also contiguous with Karalla. With Surikash in the Baneh area, Karalla in the Zeribor basin, and Parsua in the northern Mahidasht, Allabria must probably be located in the Sanandaj valley.³⁷

Parsua/Parsuash/Parsumash

The most authoritative and detailed discussion of the historical and geographical problems stemming from the use of the three toponyms, Parsua, Parsuash, and Parsumash, in Neo-Assyrian sources is that by Levine.³⁸ His conclusions can be summarized briefly.

The distinctions between the three toponyms are evidently only orthographic.³⁹ All references to Parsua, Parsuash and Parsumash from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. can be associated with an area in the central Zagros, more closely defined by Levine as being, the northern Mahidasht.⁴⁰ From the reign of Sennacherib onwards, the picture is not so clear. The single reference to Parsuash as a participant in the Elamite coalition which confronted Sennacherib at Halule gives no indication of the location of the polity.⁴¹ Esarhaddon twice mentions Parsua and Parsumash but only one of the references can be definitely associated with the central Zagros polity.⁴² A third reference to the latter (ABL 165) is variously attributed to either Esarhaddon or Sargon II.⁴³ Finally, from the reign of Ashurbanipal we have several references to Parsumash, one of which unequivocally locates it beyond Elam in conjunction with one Cyrus, perhaps Cyrus I of the Achaemenid line. . None of the Ashurbanipal references

can be definitely associated to the central Zagros Parsua.⁴⁴

To summarize, therefore, there are two geographical areas in the Neo-Assyrian sources that are called Parsua(sh)/Parsumash. One area can be located in the northern Mahidasht of the central Zagros and is attested from the reign of Shalmaneser III down to the reign of Esarhaddon. A second area called Parsumash can be located "on the far side of Elam." This is unquestionably the homeland of the Achaemenid Persians but the first definite reference to it does not date any earlier than the reign of Ashurbanipal. Other than the similarity of names, there is no evidence to connect the central Zagros Parsua(sh)/Parsumash with the Parsumash of Fars.⁴⁵

Harhar

The city of Harhar, renamed Kar-Sharrukin by Sargon II, functioned as an Assyrian bulwark against the Medes. As such, it is often referred to in association with Parsua, Media and Ellipi. More specific locational information is not provided by the Neo-Assyrian sources and the precise location of the city therefore remains conjectural. Nevertheless, a position along the Great Khorasan Road, possibly somewhere in the central or eastern Mahidasht, seems probable.⁴⁶

Ellipi

Ellipi figures frequently in Neo-Assyrian sources from the time of Ashurnasirpal II down to Esarhaddon. The state evidently bordered on Elam to the south and Harhar to the north with a western border along the modern Iran-Iraq frontier. There are no indications that would help define an eastern border. Given the suggested locations for Parsua, Harhar and Media, a northern Luristan focus for

Ellipi is likely.⁴⁷

Media

Of all the known areas in the central Zagros Media was the one furthest removed from the Assyrians. Therefore, although it is mentioned frequently from the time of Shalmaneser III onwards, we have only the sketchiest information on its size, location and composition. That part of Media which lay adjacent or close to Harhar was fragmented into numerous small polities, evidently little more than chiefdoms. Many of these we know by name even if their precise location is unclear. In some few cases, we may even hazard an educated guess as to their relative position. However, on matters of Median historical geography, we are for the most part in the dark.

A western border for Media can only be defined in relation to Harhar. Thus, building on the basis of the proposed location for the latter city, Media evidently began somewhere along the Great Khorasan Road immediately east of the Mahidasht. To the north and south Media bordered on Mannea and Ellipi respectively but the actual position of those borders cannot be ascertained.⁴⁸ Nor is there any information in the Neo-Assyrian sources that would help fix an eastern border for Media. Instead, the major question in this regard is just how far east did Assyrian penetration reach?

The question is a crucial one. To a large degree, the answer determines our whole perspective on the historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros. On the one hand is the minimalist position advocated by Levine who sees the Alvand alignment, the mountain range immediately west of Hamadan, as an effective barrier beyond which

there was no real Assyrian penetration. On the other hand, the proponents of the traditional maximal position have long argued for Assyrian penetration as far east as the Tehran area.⁴⁹

As far as we may ascertain from extant sources, Assyrian control over Media reached two high points under Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon. The former claimed direct Assyrian control in the form of provincialization for all territories up to the Median city of Zakruti. These annexed areas included the mountains of Ru'a up to the salt region of Ushqaqan and tribute was received from Median city rulers as far as Mt. Bikni.⁵⁰ For additional information on Mt. Bikni, we must look at Prism A of Esarhaddon in which he describes his conquest of the land of Patusharra which was on the border of the salt land of Media on the edge of Mt. Bikni, the "lapis lazuli mountain." Subsequently, in response to a plea for help from three Median chiefs, Esarhaddon conquered other Median cities which lay even further off and imposed tribute on them.⁵¹

Under Tiglath-pileser III, therefore, annexation had been extended as far as Zakruti and tribute was collected from as far away as Mt. Bikni. By the time of Esarhaddon, annexation had been extended even further to encompass Bikni, of which the area of Patusharra was a part, and tribute was collected from a Median area which bordered on Bikni. This introduces a major difficulty for proponents of the maximal view of Neo-Assyrian penetration to the east since it is usually assumed that the Assyrians came to know of Mt. Bikni, here equated with modern Mt. ~~Demavend~~ north of Tehran, as a result of lightning cavalry raids to collect horses or other booty. But this is demonstrably not what the Assyrian records say. Esarhaddon claims

to have annexed territories up to and including the area of Mt. Bikni and an equation of the latter with Mt. Demavend would result in an eastern Assyrian empire of enormous proportions.

A second problem arises out of the maximal position and that is the lack of any Neo-Assyrian reference to the Median capital, Ecbatana (Hamadan). It would have been impossible for the Assyrians to have controlled territory on the plateau without also controlling the length of the Great Khorasan Road, the pass through the Alvand alignment, and thus the area of Ecbatana.⁵²

For these and other reasons adumbrated by Levine, it seems wiser to assume a minimal position on the question of the extent of Neo-Assyrian penetration to the east and to identify Mt. Bikni with the Alvand alignment.⁵³ Consequently, all the Median polities controlled by the Assyrians must have lain to the west of the Alvand.

This concludes our review of the major toponyms appearing in Neo-Assyrian descriptions of the Zagros mountains, necessitated by the many problems and ambiguities of the historical geography of the area. It is hoped that these remarks will provide the reader with a ready reference which will be of assistance in following the historical narrative to which I now turn.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Such an hypothesis has now been revived in an interesting but brief article which appeared too recently for detailed consideration; see J.E. Reade, "Kassites and Assyrians in Iran," Iran, 16 (1978):137-143. It is satisfying to note that Reade and I concur on a number of new points, such as the relative position of Missi, even if we disagree on the actual location. We also arrive at the same location for Gilzanu on the southwest shore of Lake Urmia. In the reconstruction of the historical geography of the central Zagros and particularly in our estimation of the depth of Assyrian penetration to the east, our conclusions are sharply divergent. Limitations of time and space preclude a careful evaluation and rebuttal of Reade's arguments but a brief note on his methodology is not out of place. Reade's hypothesis pivots on his acceptance of Herzfeld's proposal that Namri should be located in the Mahidasht. No reasons are given for the rejection of Levine's location for Namri which is not incongruent with known evidence. In eschewing Levine's careful methodology of working outwards from known to less known areas, Reade has substituted a methodology of the "what if?" variety. In a study of this sort where we are dealing with few fixed geographical locations, this is dangerously unsound. The resulting paradigm may have internal consistency in terms of relative relationships between polities but be extremely unlikely in actual geographical terms.
2. F. Thureau-Dangin, Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon, Textes cunéiformes du Louvre, III (Paris: Geuthner, 1912); hereafter, TCL III.
3. E.A. Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today," AASOR, 8 (1928), pp. 1-42; hereafter, AASOR, 8 (1928).
4. L.D. Levine, "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros," Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 1-27 and Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 99-124; hereafter, Levine, Iran, 11 (1973) and Levine, Iran, 12 (1974). Levine's personal familiarity with much of western Iran proved an invaluable asset in establishing likely locations for toponyms. Of considerable assistance in problems of historical geography is S. Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Kevelaer, 1970); hereafter NAT. For additions and corrections to NAT, see A.K. Grayson, Review of Neo-Assyrian Toponyms by S. Parpola, JNES, 31 (1972), pp. 215-220.
5. For archaeological evidence of the Urartian occupation of Azerbaijan, see W. Kleiss, "Planaufnahmen urartäischer Burgen und Neufunde urartäischer Anlagen in Iranisch-Azerbaidjan im Jahre, 1973," AMI.NF, 7 (1974), pp. 79-106, and, most recently,

- W. Kleiss, "Bastam 1977-78," Iran, 17 (1979), pp. 145-148. For the inscriptions of Argishti II Rusahini, see W.C. Benedict, "Two Urartian Inscriptions from Azerbaijan," JCS, 19 (1965), pp. 35-40. On matters of Urartian chronology, I have followed Mirjo Salvini, "Geschichtlicher Abriss," in Urartu. Ein wiederentdeckter Rivale Assyriens, ed. H.-J. Kellner (Munich: Prähistorische Staatssammlung München, 1976), pp. 7-15. For Assyrian chronology, see J.A. Brinkman, "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," Appendix to A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 335ff.
6. Although there has been no systematic excavation of the pre-Parthian levels in Hamadan, pottery which is probably Iron III in date has been found there; personal communication from T.C. Young, Jr., August, 1978.
 7. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 106.
 8. Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 14f. and references cited therein.
 9. For Zamua, see Speiser, AASOR, 8 (1928), pp. 24ff., and Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 16ff. Levine points out that at least for the reign of Shalmaneser III, the three toponyms evidently refer to the same approximate geographical area and that only later is there evidence to suggest that Mazamua came to mean a particular provincial entity within that area.
 10. Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 22ff.
 11. Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 24ff. Levine evidently did not know of the publication of the Sar-i Pol kudurru. For the latter, see R. Borger, "Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladans I. von Babylonien," AfO, 23 (1970), pp. 1ff., especially col. II, 1.4. It must be remembered that kudurru are relatively portable objects and that its support for the location of Halman is based on taking the claimed provenience at face value.
 12. See Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 120 and n. 173; R. Boehmer, "Forschungen in und um Mudjesir (Irakisch-Kurdistan)," Archäologischer Anzeiger, 4 (1973), pp. 479-521; and R. Boehmer, "Zur Lage von Musasir," Baghdader Mitteilungen, 6 (1973), pp. 31-40. Boehmer bases his proposal on the existence of a number of close homophones. Mudjesir has no known Arabic or Kurdish etymology and only a small phonetic shift separates it from the ancient toponym. In addition, the mountain range immediately north of the site is called Shaiu-Ulan and Boehmer suggests a possible correspondence with the mountains of Še-ia-ak and Ū-la-a-ia-ū crossed by Sargon II on his way from Hubushkia to Musasir during the 8th palū campaign (TCL III.324). Surface sherding and sondages at Mudjesir have yielded Iron Age pottery in association with architectural remains. Not all

commentators have subscribed to the belief that the site of Musasir must lie close to the stele. Burney has pointed out that no necessary connection exists; C.A. Burney and D.M. Lang, The Peoples of the Hills (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), p. 156. Similarly, Thureau-Dangin has suggested that the stele may simply mark the southern territorial limits of Musasir and Urartu; TCL III, p. xvii.

13. For the Shalmaneser III reference, see E. Michel, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III. (858-824 v. Chr.)," WO, 2/3 (1956), pp. 230f., 11. 174 ff. For the Sargon II reference, see TCL III, 324ff.
14. Thureau-Dangin located Hubushkia along the Bohtan Su river, south of Lake Van, a proposition acceptable to those who would route the 8th palû campaign of Sargon II through the centre of Urartu; TCL III, p. xi and n. 4. Kinnier-Wilson argues for a location south or south-west of Lake Urmia but this is probably too far east and Gilzanu seems a likelier candidate for that location; J.V. Kinnier-Wilson, "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III," Iraq, 24 (1962), pp. 108f.
15. Such a location is in accord with other references to Hubushkia. During his 3rd palû, Shalmaneser III claims to have exited from Hubushkia through the pass of Kirruri, to the north of Erbil; D.D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), Vol. I, par. 607. Hereafter both volumes of this work appear as ARAB, I and ARAB II. For a concurring opinion on the location of Hubushkia, see L. Levine, RLA, 4/7 (1975), sub Hubushkia.
16. The reference by Tukulti-ninurta II is uninformative and merely indicates the extent of the king's rule; A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, Part 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), par. 477. Hereafter, ARI, 2. The annals of Ashurnasirpal II from the 1st and 4th palû campaigns refer to the king's receipt of tribute from Gilzanu while in Kirruri and Zamua respectively. All other references to Gilzanu from Ashurnasirpal's reign occur in the summary inscriptions as the formulaic phrase "from the passes of Kirruri to the land of Gilzanu"; ARI, 2, pars. 545, 565, 575, 589, 626, 651, 676, 704, 716, 729, 762, and 766.
17. ARAB, I, par. 588. Mannea and Andia, a province of the latter, are discussed below. Harrana is little known, but the annals of the preceding 30th palû campaign place it on a line of march between Mannea and Allabria; ARAB, I, par. 587, where it occurs in the variant form, Harruna.
18. ARAB, I, par. 602ff. Even the general location of Arzashkun is uncertain. Burney favours either the upper valley of the Murat river or the eastern Euphrates region between Malazgirt and Liz but no evidence can be marshalled in support of these proposals; C.A. Burney and D.M. Lang, The Peoples of the Hills (1972), p. 130.

Aramale and Zanziuna are perhaps to be identified with the Urartian toponyms Armarili and Siniunak which the account of the 8th palû campaign of Sargon II locates in the vicinity of Lake Urmia; see below, p. 108. The reference to the "Sea of Nairi" cannot be understood as the "Upper Sea of Nairi" (Lake Van) and therefore must be to the "Lower Sea of Nairi" (Lake Urmia); Kinnier-Wilson, Iraq, 24 (1962), p. 102.

19. The route of the accession year campaign of Shalmaneser III also links Gilzanu and the (Lower) Sea of Nairi, although only indirectly. The Assyrians first attacked Hubushkia, proceeded against Sugunia, an Urartian city, and then descended to the Sea of Nairi. On their return march from there, the tribute of Gilzanu was collected although it is important to note that the Monolith inscription does not claim that the Assyrians actually passed through Gilzanu; ARAB, I, par. 598.
20. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 113ff.
21. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 114.
22. M. Van Loon, "The Inscription of Ishpuini and Meinua at Qalatgah, Iran," JNES, 34 (1975), pp. 201-207. For the Tash Tepe inscription, see F.W. König, Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 8, I-II (Graz: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, 1955-1957), pp. 59-60, no. 17. Hereafter, König, HCI. For the Kuh-i Savelan inscriptions, see n. 5 above.
23. S. Swiny, "Survey in North-West Iran, 1971," East and West, 25 (1975), p. 89 and n.30.
24. Given the archaeologically defined limits of Urartian penetration of Azerbaijan, only Mt. Sahend can fit Sargon's description.
25. The evidence does not favour one suggested location over the other. My alternative suggestion is prompted by the following consideration. If Uishdish is in the Mahabad area and Zikirtu is in the Zarineh Rud valley, as Levine suggests, this reduces considerably the extent of the Mannean heartland which would have to be confined to the headwaters of the Zarineh Rud. While this is quite possible, one would expect the Mannean core area to be rather more extensive.
26. The identification of the Mannean royal city of Zibie with the modern site of Ziwiye, near Saqqiz, was suggested by A. Godard, Le Trésor de Ziwiye (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé, 1950), p. 5. See also R. Boehmer, "Volkstum und Städte der Mannäer," Bagh. Mitt., 3 (1964), p. 20 for a concurring opinion. The proposed identification has been trenchantly criticized and rejected by T.C. Young, Jr., "Proto-Historic Western Iran. An Archaeological and Historical Review: Problems and Possible Interpretations," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1963, pp. 180-182.

27. See Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 114. For the Zamuan campaign, see Speiser, AASOR, 8 (1928), pp. 1ff.
28. Speiser, AASOR, 8 (1928), pp. 22f.
29. Michel, WO, 2/2 (1955), p. 156, ll. 120-1. TCL III, l. 51.
30. TCL III, ll. 64-5. Thureau-Dangin's translation differs slightly from the one quoted here which is derived from CAD, G, p. 107.
31. ARAB, I, pars. 718ff.
32. Hubushkia has been excluded from the list. Since the route taken into the Zagros was through Zamua, Shamshi-Adad V could not have passed through Hubushkia which is located north of Kurruri in the Upper Zab headwaters. We must assume, therefore, that the Hubushkians brought their tribute to the king in the field, a not uncommon occurrence in the Neo-Assyrian annals. The reference to Taurlu is of obscure significance since the toponym never re-occurs in Neo-Assyrian sources.
33. For the contiguous relationship between Surikash, Karalla and Allabria, see TCL III, l. 31. On Allabria and Parsua, see Levine, "Sargon's Eighth Campaign," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (Malibu: Undena, 1977), p. 138. Hereafter, Levine, Mountains and Lowlands.
34. This modifies slightly the locations suggested by myself in a paper presented to the American Oriental Society in 1978; S.C. Brown, "The Missi Link," Ancient Near East, Section III, American Oriental Society Annual Meeting, Toronto, April 11, 1978.
35. Levine, TNAS, p. 38, l. 32. Lullume does not occur in the eponym lists as the name of a province but Sargon himself equates it with Zamua; TCL III, l. 11.
36. See, most recently, Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, p. 137. On routes to the east of Zamua, see Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 12-13.
37. Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, p. 138.
38. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 106ff. Levine also reviews the Urartian references to Barshua but does not consider the matter of Achaemenid Parsumash in any detail. It should be noted that although Levine and I diverge on the location of Missi, this does not affect the relative location of Parsua.
39. The sh ending in Parsuash and Parsumash cannot be explained but Levine has noted an analogous Manna/Mannash alternation for Mannea from the reign of Shalmaneser III; Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 106, n. 35. The change from Parsuash to Parsumash can be explained by the shift of intervocalic w to m; see R. Borger,

Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke, I (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), p. IV, par. 21d, specifically in Neo-Babylonian. I am indebted to Levine for this last observation.

40. See Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 110 where he suggests a possible extension of Parsua into the Sapandaj valley. The suggestion was withdrawn in a subsequent publication; Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, p. 138. In the period defined, the toponym is referred to by Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad V, Adad-nirari III, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II; see NAT, sub 'Parsua' for references. The once-favoured northern location for Parsua in the south-west Urmia region can be finally ruled out.
41. D.D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 43, l. 43.
42. E.G. Klauber, Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1913), no. 38, rev. 5, refers to Parsumash in connection with the Medes. Hereafter, PRT. A report to Esarhaddon concerning a shipment of horses mentions Parsua along with Lahiru and may refer to the central Zagros polity; R.F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters . . . (London, 1892-1914), no. 61; hereafter ABL. Unfortunately, two cities by the name of Lahiru may have existed and the significance of the reference is therefore obscure; Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 26 and n. 148.
43. Parpola dates the letter to Sargon II; NAT, p. 274. Pfeiffer attributes it to Esarhaddon's reign; R.H. Pfeiffer, State Letters of Assyria (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1935), p. 265; hereafter SLA.
44. The Ishtar Temple inscription definitely establishes the relative position of this toponym: "Cyrus, the king of Parsumash, Pishlume, the king of Hydimeri, kings whose home is distant, who dwell on the far side of Elam . . ."; R. Campbell Thompson, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-32," LAAA, 20 (1933), p. 86, ll. 115ff. For additional references to Parṣua(ash)/Parsumash, see NAT sub Parsua and Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 110ff.
45. The possibility of such a connection has often been discussed and, at times, even assumed. See T.C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," Iran, 5 (1967), pp. 17ff. for discussion of the point and specifically p. 19 where he states most appositely that "the evidence for a Persian migration to the south-east may be only an artifact of the sources." See also Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 106ff; D. Stronach, "Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian Migration to Fars," Iraq, 36 (1974), pp. 239-248; and idem, Pasargadae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 283ff.

46. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 116f.
47. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 104ff.
48. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 117ff.
49. See, most recently, J.E. Reade, "Kassites and Assyrians in Iran," Iran, 16 (1978), p. 141.
50. ARAB, I, par. 81f.
51. ARAB, II, par. 540.
52. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 110. The claim by Herodotus that the city was founded at the end of the eighth century B.C. can scarcely be doubted.
53. Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 117-119. The salt desert mentioned by the Assyrian sources need not be identified with the Darya-i Namak of the central Iranian plateau. Young has pointed out that an arm of that wasteland reaches west to the area around modern Saveh; Young, Iran, 5 (1967), p. 13, n. 2. In addition, another salt waste is located immediately north-east of modern Arāk.

CHAPTER 2

INITIAL ASSYRIAN PENETRATION OF THE ZAGROS MOUNTAINS

In the extant Neo-Assyrian epigraphic sources of the first half of the ninth century B.C., there is no obvious indication of an interest in the Zagros mountains. Yet, in subjugating various areas to the east of the Assyrian heartland and reducing some of them to vassalage, Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) and his immediate successors, Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) and Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) established a basis that allowed and facilitated the deeper eastern incursions that took place in the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.).

Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.)

Only two texts of any consequence survive from the reign of Adad-nirari II and both reflect the king's priorities of pacifying Hanigalbat and areas north and north-west of Assyria and of stabilizing the southern border with Babylonia.¹ In one of these sources, Adad-nirari II claims to have marched from the Lower Zab through or by the lands of Lullume, Habhu and Zamua as far as the passes of Namri. This action, which must have taken place prior to 901 B.C., is probably to be understood as a flanking movement against the Babylonians prompted by a desire to regain territory formerly Assyrian.² The territorial gains were short-lived and the defeat of the Babylonian king, Shamash-mudammiq, was soon avenged by his successor, Nabu-shuma-ukim I,

who restored the former boundary of Babylonia to the Lower Zab.³ Nevertheless, the Assyrian intention to control its eastern marchland had been signalled.

Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.)

The major epigraphical source for the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II is the annals written after his sixth campaign, describing the first five campaigns in summary fashion, and the sixth in some detail. The latter involved a long march down the Tigris against central Babylonia and then a swing up the Euphrates to the Habur region from whence was launched a raid against Mushki. The other five campaigns, with the exception of a short raid on Kurruri in 885 B.C., were focussed on the Nairi lands to the north of Assyria. It is the raid on Kurruri which is relevant to our discussion here.⁴

This action must have been of short duration, beginning as it did on the 17th of Tishri (September/October). The Assyrian army advanced into the pass of Kurruri to the east of Erbil as far as the great mountains of Urrubnu and Ishrun. Various cities in the land of Ladanu held by A(rameans) and Lullu were conquered and Tukulti-Ninurta pursued the fleeing inhabitants down to the Lower Zab. Although the locational information is scanty, it seems clear enough that no deep penetration of the mountains was involved, certainly no further than the chaîne magistrale, and that the basic direction of the campaign swung to the south-east from Kurruri towards Zamua in the area of the Lower Zab.⁵ No lasting control is claimed by Tukulti-Ninurta and, considered in the light of his repeated campaigns against the Nairi

lands to the north of Assyria, the raid on Kurruri might be interpreted as an almost insignificant interlude. Yet, in his 1st palû campaign a few years later, Ashurnasirpal II collected tribute from Kurruri without remark. It is a reasonable hypothesis, therefore, that one of Tukulti-Ninurta's achievements was the successful imposition of vassalage on the polity.

Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.)

The richly documented reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) was also a period of considerable expansion in Assyrian power. However, of the numerous extant texts commissioned by this monarch, only one provides any substantial information about Assyrian activities in eastern areas.⁶ In his 1st, 3rd, and 4th palû campaigns, Ashurnasirpal II struck repeatedly against Zamua to quell local opposition.

The 1st palû campaign (883 B.C.) began with the capture of five cities in Numme (the modern Rania plain), an area possibly to be included in northern Zamua, and continued in a north-westerly direction against Kurruri where Ashurnasirpal collected tribute. In addition, further tribute was received from Gilzanu and Hubushkia. The campaign concluded with an attack on the land of Habhu and the imposition of tax, tribute, and corvée duty on the inhabitants of that area.⁷

The 3rd palû campaign (881 B.C.) season was marked by two separate and sequential expeditions, both with the same objective, namely Zamua. The casus belli was the revolt of Zamua under the leadership of one Nur-Adad but the Babite pass, which had been fortified by the rebels, was quickly forced and the Zamuan army shattered. The second attack on Zamua in the same year began on the

15th of Tishri (September/October). Evidently, the rebellion was still in progress, necessitating this late season venture. From the Babite pass Ashurnasirpal proceeded to Mt. Nisir where he captured the city of Buñasi along with thirty villages. Spoil was taken and the refugees from this action were pursued into Mt. Nisir where the city of Larbusa fell to the Assyrians. At this point, the revolt seems to have collapsed and all the kings of Zamua with the exception of the fugitive Nur-Adad paid homage to Ashurnasirpal. Tribute of horses, silver, gold, barley and straw and corvée duties were imposed on the rebels and the land of Zamua was placed under a central administration.⁸

A detailed reconstruction of these two actions of the 3rd palû has been provided by Speiser. For our purposes here, it is less important to evaluate the highly specific identifications he gives for the various toponyms which appear in Ashurnasirpal's account than to establish the overall geographical parameters of Assyrian penetration. From that standpoint, there is no difficulty in accepting the equation of Mt. Nisir with the modern Pir-i Mukrun, north of Suleimaniya, and in viewing the Avroman Dagħ range as the eastern limit of the campaign.⁹

Whether or not Ashurnasirpal had planned a campaign against Zamua in his 4th palû (880 B.C.), it was forced on him by the revolt of Ameka and Arashtua, rebellious Zamuan leaders who had withheld tribute and had refused to perform corvée duties. Entering Zamua again through the Babite pass, Ashurnasirpal marched down the length of the land as far as the Hashmar pass (the Derbend-i Khan or Diyala Gorge).¹⁰ The latter part of the campaign treats us to a welter of unfamiliar toponyms and the progress of the campaign cannot be followed on a map with any assurance. The details of the narrative and the lack of familiar

toponyms both suggest that the Assyrians ascended into the eastern mountains, penetrating relatively unknown areas but the campaign clearly begins and ends within Zamua. At the collapse of the revolt, further tribute, tax and corvée duties were imposed on Zamua, and Ashurnasirpal specifically describes the restoration of the abandoned city of Atlila in Zamua, its renaming as Dur-Ashur, and his objective of using it as a centre for the collection and storage of barley and straw.¹¹ No further action in Zamua, or anywhere on Assyria's eastern periphery, is recorded for the remainder of Ashurnasirpal's reign.

Before turning to the achievements of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.), it is instructive to summarize briefly the pattern of Assyrian activities described above. It can be seen that the areas east of Assyria were of low priority for Adad-nirari II in comparison to the northern and southern borders of his land. Zamua and Namri enter into his campaigning in only a minor way. For the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II there is only the brief raid on Kirruri and no lasting control of the area is claimed. It should be noted, however, that his successor, Ashurnasirpal II, collected tribute in Kirruri during his 1st palû campaign as if such an arrangement existed prior to his reign. In the first four years of Ashurnasirpal's reign we encounter no less than four eastern campaigns, one against Numme and three against Zamua. By the end of this series of actions Zamua had been brought under a centralized administration though no specific claim for provincialization is made. The earliest reference to Zamua as an official province of the Assyrian empire dates to 828 B.C. although provincialization may have taken place considerably earlier.¹² Under Ashurnasirpal II, Assyrian control was extended southwards to the Diyala river. Further

to the north, Numme centred on the Rania plain was conquered, Habhu was reconquered, and tribute was collected from Kirruri. The polities of Gilzanu in the south-west Urmia region and Hubushkia in the Upper Zab headwaters felt the Assyrian presence to be sufficiently close as to warrant the presentation of tribute and the appearance of a delegation from Musasir at the inaugural celebrations in Ashurnasirpal's new capital of Nimrud should not go unnoticed.¹³

The documentation of Assyrian accomplishments is but one part of the problem. Somewhat more intractable is the question of motive. In victory the Assyrians extracted the usual tribute and tax comprising horses, mules, cattle, sheep, wine, barley, straw, gold, silver, lead and copper.¹⁴ Dur-Ashur in Zamua was rebuilt as a centre for the storage of barley and straw and the presumption that these goods were being shipped back to Assyria seems likely. In addition, Ashurnasirpal's several references to the imposition of corvée duties specifically in relation to his ambitious building programme in Nimrud are worth noting.¹⁵ The eastern areas represented a source, though not a unique one, of manpower in large numbers and located only a short distance from Assyria. Whatever purposes were fulfilled by the actions of these three Assyrian monarchs in Kirruri, Numme and Zamua, the effect was to consolidate an Assyrian presence and sphere of influence from the Upper Zab headwaters to the Diyala river and as far east as the chaîne magistrale, thus setting the stage for deeper penetration to the east into the Zagros mountains proper in the reign of Shalmaneser III.

Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.)

With the reign of Shalmaneser III, Assyrian involvement with the Zagros mountains begins in earnest and we have the first deep military penetration to the east. Nevertheless, while Shalmaneser was to go further east than any of his predecessors, and to go there more often, most of his thirty-two known campaigns were against areas north and west of Assyria; the east was a low priority area and only seven campaigns were directed there.

The Accession Year Campaign (859 B.C.)

If for no other reason, the campaign of Shalmaneser's accession year is important for being the first major clash in the Zagros mountains between the nascent powers of Assyria and Urartu. It was the harbinger of a prolonged military conflict that, in the following two centuries, was largely fought out through intermediaries on battle-grounds ranging from Syria to western Iran.

The major source for the accession year campaign is the so-called Monolith inscription, an annalistic account of the first six years of Shalmaneser's reign.¹⁶ The action began with the penetration of the passes of the land of Simesi and the capture of Aridi, the royal city of King Ninni. Here Shalmaneser received tribute from Hargeans, Harmaseans, Simeseans, Simereans, Siresheans, and Ulmaneans. Taking a difficult route through very mountainous country, the Assyrian army then proceeded to Hubushkia where tribute and tax was imposed on the population. The subsequent objective was Sugunia, described as the royal city of Arame of Urartu, where yet another victory was achieved. Thereafter, Shalmaneser stopped at the Sea of the Nairi-land and, on

his return march to Assyria, received tribute from Azu of Gilzanu.¹⁷

This campaign has generally been interpreted as an attack on the centre of the Urartian kingdom based on the assumption that Hubushkia lay in the Bohtan Su valley, that Sugunia, the Urartian royal city, must have been located in the heartland of Urartu, and that the Sea of Nairi must be understood as none other than Lake Van. Such a route is no longer tenable, given the locations defined earlier in this study for Hubushkia and Gilzanu.

Hubushkia, as we have noted before, should be located in the area east of Colemerk along the Upper Zab river. This gives us an approximate location for Simesi, adjacent to Hubushkia but separated from it by a mountain barrier and on a line of march from Assyria. The description of Sugunia as a "royal city" does not necessarily imply that it was the capital. At a minimum, the city had royal connections and could have been located anywhere within the Urartian sphere of influence. There are two seas of the Nairi-land known from Neo-Assyrian sources, the Upper Sea being identified with Lake Van, and the Lower Sea with Lake Urmia. Unfortunately, such a qualification is not provided by the Monolith inscription but, unless the location suggested for Gilzanu in the south-west Urmia region be wildly wrong, Shalmaneser's sea must be Lake Urmia.¹⁸ This campaign therefore represents the first significant Neo-Assyrian incursion into the Zagros mountains proper of which we have any knowledge.

The 4th Palû Campaign (855 B.C.)

The first part of the campaign season of 855 B.C. was devoted to an attack on Ahuni of Bit Adini. An additional campaign of the same year is described briefly in the Monolith inscription.

The target was Mazamua, the latter term being an as-yet undetermined political or geographical qualification of Zamua.

Entering the area via the pass of the land of Bunais, the Assyrians pursued their opponents, Nikdime and Nikdiari, from their cities to an undefined sea where they defeated them in a naval battle. Other accounts of this campaign agree among themselves in providing a variant description of the route. Here Shalmaneser, departing from Ashur, crossed Mount Kullar (the Bazian Dagħ range), and descended into Zamua ša bītāni. Clearly the two variants agree that the action took place somewhere in Zamua and consequently the sea to which the rebels fled can be none other than Lake Zeribor, the only possible candidate in this region. The campaign seems to have been little more than a police action abruptly terminating a revolt by two tributaries.¹⁹

The 16th Palū Campaign (843 B.C.)

The scope and nature of this campaign were radically different from that of the 4th palū, at least insofar as we know it from the Cameron annals. The latter source gives us only the bare essentials in an itinerary fashion but, at least, is contemporary with the events described.²⁰

The initial part of the route taken is similar to that of the 4th palū campaign. Departing from Arbela (modern Erbil), the army crossed Mt. Kullar and seized a fortress in Zamua ša bītāni. While this first part of the campaign may be interpreted as a police action suppressing a rebellious Zamuan city, the rest of the campaign involved the penetration of new territory. From Zamua ša bītāni, the army moved to the land of Munna (Mannea) and then to Allabria (the Sanandaj

valley) where the fortified city of Shurdira, belonging to Janziburiash of Allabria, was conquered. Goods from the king's palace, including a golden door, were carried off. The Assyrian army then marched through Parsua (the northern Mahidasht), Abdadani, and Habban, but no lasting conquest is claimed.²¹ Debouching from the Zagros through Habban, the Assyrians mounted an attack on the land of Namri whose king, Marduk-mudammīq, opposed Shalmaneser with a large force of cavalry. The Assyrians carried the victory and the Namrite king was obliged to flee, abandoning his fortresses in Tukliash. Almost as a postscript, the Cameron annals add that Shalmaneser received the tribute of Baru, the man of Ellipi, in the pass of Tukliash.

The 24th Palû Campaign (835 B.C.)

Seven years of campaigning in the west were to absorb the attention and energies of Shalmaneser III before 835 B.C. when, once again, he was compelled by reasons unrecorded in the annals to return to Namri and areas further to the east. The Black Obelisk account of this campaign is not an itinerary proper and we cannot be certain, however likely it may be, that the sequence of toponyms therein reflects the actual order of the campaign. Nevertheless, the account does indicate that Namri was invaded first before the army moved on to Parsua and other areas in the central Zagros.²²

At the outset of the campaign, the Assyrian army crossed the Lower Zab and Mt. Hashmar to invade Namri. Janzu, the Assyrian appointee placed on the throne of Namri at the close of the 16th palû campaign, took refuge in the mountains but could not elude capture. The Assyrians then moved on to Parsua but we are provided with no

details on the route taken or intervening areas traversed. Tribute was received from the twenty-seven kings (šarrāni) of the land of Parsua before the campaign continued through the lands of Missi, Media (māt a-ma-da-a-a), Araziash and Harhar. Local opposition was overcome and several cities were captured and burned. The account closes with the notices that a royal stele was set up in the land of Harhar and that Janzu of Namri was deported back to Assyria.

It is difficult to know what to make of this extended action. Obviously, Janzu of Namri had in some way offended his erstwhile benefactor but the nature of his treason is not described. In any case, possible disaffection in Namri can scarcely account for this deep penetration into the central Zagros unless there be some hidden connection. It is worth noting that the 16th palû campaign also involved both a penetration of the central Zagros and an attack on Namri but it would be incautious to attempt to argue that the two actions are linked by anything more than geography and military convenience. Shalmaneser III may simply have been killing two birds with one stone and given our lack of any details for either campaign this minimal level of inference is perhaps wisest. The major significance of the 24th palû campaign is, of course, the appearance of the Medes for the first time in extant Neo-Assyrian sources. They are mentioned without any special designation or fanfare.

The 30th Palû Campaign (829 B.C.)

The campaign of the 30th palû receives more extensive coverage in the Black Obelisk.²³ Led by the turtānu, Daian-Ashur, the army crossed the Upper Zab into Hubushkia where the tribute of Datana, the

king, was collected. From Hubushkia the Assyrians moved against the cities of Magdubi, ruler of the land of Madahisa, to collect further tribute.²⁴ The march continued into Mannea where the king, Udaki, abandoned his royal residence of Zirta. The unopposed Assyrians destroyed his cities and looted the land of cattle, sheep and other plunder. The stage after Mannea took Daian-Ashur to the cities of Shalusunu of Harruna where the royal city of Masashuru was captured.²⁵ Shalusunu and his sons were forgiven their opposition and tribute and tax in the form of horses broken to the yoke were imposed on him. The march continued to Shurdira in Allabria whose ruler, Artasari, yielded tribute.²⁶ The account of the campaign ends with the Assyrian army in Parsua. There loyal kings of Parsua gave tribute while the rest of the Parsuans who were not loyal to Assur saw their cities captured and their property carried off.

The 31st Palû Campaign (828 B.C.)

Finally we come to the last documented campaign of Shalmaneser III's reign in which he once again threw his army against the Zagros mountains.²⁷ The first part of the action evidently involved nothing more than the collection of tribute from various areas but the latter part of the campaign saw the suppression of further resistance in Parsua and Namri.

Led once again by Daian-Ashur, the Assyrian army marched first to Hubushkia to collect the tribute of Datana. An attack was then directed against Musasir to the south-east and the stronghold of Zapparia was taken along with forty-six other cities of Musasir.²⁸ The army then moved east, perhaps via the Kelishin pass, as far as the

fortresses of the Urartians and burned another fifty settlements. The next halt on the march was Gilzanu where Daian-Ashur received tribute from the ruler of Gilzanu and from the lands of Mannea, Harrana, Shashgana, Andia and Lallara, as well as the tribute of the city of Burisa. Shashgana, Lallara and Burisa are otherwise unknown. Harrana is probably the same as Harruna of the 30th palu where it occurs as a land lying between Mannea and Allabria. Andia was an eastern province of Mannea. The type of tribute collected from these areas comprised cattle, sheep and horses; of quantity of tribute we have no knowledge.

As the next major stage of the campaign was Parsua we must assume that Daian-Ashur led his troops south-east through Kurdistan passing through Mannean territory. Along the way two fortresses, Pirria and Shitiuaria, were burned along with twenty-two neighbouring settlements but the name of the land in which they were situated is beyond restoration. Once in Parsua, three more fortresses, Bushtu, Shalahamanu and Kinihamanu, were captured along with twenty-three cities. Their warriors were slain and booty taken. Exiting from the mountains via Halman, the campaign closed with an attack on Namri. Two hundred and fifty Namrite settlements were destroyed, a figure that bespeaks widespread opposition to Assyria.

The 32nd Palu Campaign (827 B.C.)

According to the eponym chronicle, C^b, a campaign was mounted against Mannea in Shalmaneser's 32nd palu. There is, however, no extant account of the action.²⁹

Shamshi-Adad V (824-811 B.C.)

The last years of the reign of Shalmaneser III were marked by civil war in Assyria. The crown-prince, Ashur-danin-apli, rebelled against his father and enlisted the support of some twenty-seven cities. To a younger son of Shalmaneser, Shamshi-Adad, fell the task of quelling the unrest and restoring order. In this he was eventually successful but we know little of how he accomplished his victory, or indeed, of exactly how long the revolt lasted.

Although the practice of the annual campaign continued during the reign of Shamshi-Adad V, the campaigns in the royal inscriptions were no longer dated according to the regnal year or palû, a custom introduced in the reign of Shalmaneser III. The scribes, unfortunately, did not restore the earlier practice of dating campaigns by the appropriate limmu year but contented themselves with simply numbering the campaigns according to their chronological sequence without indicating years in which no campaign took place. Actual dates can be ascertained only by correlating the sequence in the royal inscriptions with that of the eponym-chronicle, C^b.³⁰

The First Campaign (819 B.C.: 5th Palû)

Of the first campaign of Shamshi-Adad V, the Nimrud annals tell us little.³¹ All the kings of Nairi gave tribute in the form of horses broken to the yoke and Shamshi-Adad claims to have "cast down Nairi, to its farthest border, as with a net."³²

The term "Nairi" can be equated with any area in the peripheral Urartian sphere of influence either north or east of Assyria. It is a generalized term lacking any precise geographical significance, but two

factors related to this first campaign combine to suggest that the objectives included the central Zagros. The first of these is that in Grayson's proposed correlation of the eponym chronicle and the royal inscriptions, the first campaign corresponds with the chronicle entry "to Manna."³³ The second factor is the delimitation of the frontiers of Assyrian power given at the close of the brief campaign account. The eastern limit is given as Shurdira "of the land of Nairi" as opposed to a western limit of Kar-Shalmaneser opposite Carchemish.³⁴ Shurdira was the capital of Allabria. It is probable, therefore, that Shamshi-Adad's first field campaign was directed against the Zagros, a choice which was perhaps dictated by the increasing Urartian influence in the area.

The Second Campaign (818 B.C.:6th Palû)

The official second campaign of the Nimrud annals presents further problems. Again we are confronted with a short summary of events although, in this case, we are provided with a few more details. Unfortunately, these details appear to involve a major contradiction. In an unusual introduction to the campaign, the king praises his rabshakê handsomely; evidently it was the latter rather than the king himself or the turtānu who led the campaign. We are then given conflicting geographical objectives. On the one hand the annals state that Mutarris-Ashur, the rabshakê, marched as far as "the upper sea of the setting-sun," usually a reference to the Mediterranean, while on the other hand all the toponyms and personal names that follow must be related to the east.³⁵

Three hundred settlements of Sharsina, the son of Mektiari; together with eleven fortresses and two hundred settlements of the

land of Ushpina (PN) were captured. After plundering these communities and on his return march, the rabshake attacked the people of Sunbi. In addition, he received tribute in the form of horses broken to the yoke from all the kings of Nairi.

The reference to the upper sea of the setting-sun can only be explained as a scribal error. The precise location of Sharsina's land and of the land of Ushpina cannot be determined except to note that they must both lie in or close to Zamua.³⁶ Sunbi is almost certainly the area of Sumbi of Sargon II which is said to lie in Zamua.³⁷ There are no positive indications that the campaign need be seen as being any more extensive than a raid into Zamua and its eastern periphery.

The Third Campaign (815 B.C.:9th Palû)

The account of the third campaign in the Calah stele is long and detailed and potentially constitutes one of the most valuable lists of personal and geographical names bearing on western Iran from any period of Neo-Assyrian history.³⁸ There are indications that we are probably dealing with a complex source. The first part of the campaign is reported in a laconic summary style. The second part, in detailed annalistic and itinerary style, records the successive invasions of Missi, Gizilbunda and Media ending with an attack on Araziash. The third, and last, part of the account, a long list of tributaries, gives the appearance of having been extracted from a stele of the type known from inter alia Sargon II's 6th palû campaign.³⁹

At the outset of the campaign the Assyrian army crossed the Zab river, passed over Mt. Kullar (the Bazian Dagħ) and went up into "Nairi." The use of the latter term in this context is slightly

puzzling; as pointed out above, it normally implies an area under Urartian influence, if not outright Urartian control, and yet the route described is the familiar path into Zamua. Unless it be argued that "Nairi" has some other connotation, we must assume that Urartian influence had made extensive inroads into the Zagros, presumably profiting directly from the years of Assyrian civil war and international impotence.

Having gone up into Nairi, the Assyrian army collected tribute from Dadi of Hubushkia and Sharsina, son of Mekdiari, as well as from the lands of the Sunbai, Mannai, Parsuai and Taurlai.⁴⁰ It must have been the case that some, at least, of this tribute was brought to the Assyrians rather than the army making a circuit of all the districts mentioned. The detailed second part of the campaign account begins with an attack on Missi presumably via Parsua. The Mesaya were driven into the mountains and defeated. Five hundred settlements were taken and plundered, the list of booty including cattle, asses, horses, Bactrian camels, and flocks of sheep and goats.

A course was then set for Gizilbunda. The city of Kinaki was burned and the guhlu-stone mountain was crossed.⁴¹ Two Gizilbundan leaders, Titamashka of Sasiashu and Kiari of Karsibutu, brought tributes of horses. The Assyrians advanced taking the stronghold of Urash killing 6,000 men and capturing another 1,200, including Pirishati, the king. Rich plunder in the form of livestock and vessels of silver, gold and copper was carried off. Engur, ruler of the stronghold of Sibaru, capitulated and a triumphal stele was set up in his city.

The next stage of the campaign was an attack on Media. The Medes retreated into the White Mountain but were pursued and defeated. Their leader, Hanisiruka, lost 2,300 men as well as 140 cavalry and his royal city, Sagbitu, was burned along with 1,200 other settlements. After this success, the Assyrian army began their return march, crossing the musi-stone mountain, and launching an attack on Araziash. Munsuarta, the ruler of Araziash, was killed along with 1,070 of his men, and the settlements of the polity were plundered and burned.⁴²

At this point the description of the campaign ceases and the account concludes with a long list of tributaries introduced by the words, "At that time the tribute of . . . [list of names and associated toponyms], kings of Nairi, all of them" Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to make much of this list. Only one tributary, Barzuta of Taurlu, can be directly connected to the preceding campaign account where tribute from the Taurlai is mentioned at the outset of the campaign. It is not possible to decide whether this is a list of tribute imposed at the close of the campaign or whether it is a summary of all the tribute collected throughout the campaign from various areas.⁴³ One is struck, however, by the frequency of obviously Iranian names in the campaign account in general and the tributary list in particular.⁴⁴

Three campaigns, only one of which is reported in any detail, hardly allow much room for well-founded generalization. Nevertheless, it is striking that three of Shamshi-Adad's seven known campaigns were directed against the east. The first of these may not have been very extensive, perhaps going no further than Allabria, while the second

campaign perhaps only went as far as Sumbi on the border of Mannea. The third campaign, by way of contrast, penetrated more deeply into western Iran than ever before. Shalmaneser III, in his 24th palû campaign, claims to have conquered Missi, Media, Araziash and Harhar but Shamshi-Adad also campaigned in Gizilbunda. Curiously, there is no reference to Harhar in his third campaign although he must have passed close to it, if not actually through it. The omission is striking and perhaps signifies an Assyrian setback.

Reconstructing the actual geographical parameters of conquest is problematical. Given the locations suggested for Parsua and Araziash, the Assyrian army evidently executed a clockwise turning movement but the radius of this movement cannot be established except in the vaguest way. To a degree it is arguable that Shamshi-Adad managed to penetrate areas which were never again conquered by Assyrian armies. Of the twenty-six tributary polities listed at the close of the third campaign, not one re-occurs in later Assyrian sources.⁴⁵

In his fourth campaign, Shamshi-Adad V turned his attention to Babylonia and, as far as we know, no further campaigns were conducted in the Zagros mountains during the remainder of his reign. However, his successor, Adad-nirari III mounted a series of campaigns in the region, although we know virtually nothing of their outcome.

Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.)

The increasing Assyrian involvement in the eastern borderlands of Iran is underscored by the fact that Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.) devoted no less than thirteen of his twenty-eight campaign seasons to

those areas. Most of his other campaigns were directed towards the west and north-west. It would seem that during his reign, the aggressive policies of his predecessor, Shamshi-Adad V, against Babylonia were largely discontinued. Although two campaigns against Der are recorded in the eponym lists for the years 795 and 794 B.C., a certain understanding between the two countries is suggested by the relative peace which prevailed between them.⁴⁶

Of the actions against the eastern borderlands we know very little for, on the whole, no detailed records have survived from the reign of Adad-nirari III. Tadmor has pointed out that none of the extant historical records of his reign which have been published so far can be classified as annals. Rather they belong to a category of inscriptions which he calls "summary inscriptions."⁴⁷ The distinctive feature of this type of inscription is that it provides a condensation of early with late events in one geographically, but not chronologically, ordered narrative. The eastern campaigns of Adad-nirari III in chronological order are as follows:

809	Media
807	Mannea
806	Mannea
801	Hubushkia
800	Media
799	Media
797	Namri
793	Media
792	Media
791	Hubushkia
789	Media
787	Media
785	Hubushkia ⁴⁸
784	Hubushkia.

A few additional details concerning the extent on these eastern campaigns can be gleaned from the so-called "Nimrud Slab"

inscription. Lines 1-14 of this inscription provide a prologue enumerating the king's titles and the lands he conquered in geographical order, beginning with the east, north-east, and north, before proceeding to the west.

Palace of Adad-nirari [titles] . . . who conquered from Mount Siluna of the rising-sun, the lands of Namri, Ellipi, Harhar, Araziash, Mesu, Madai, Mount Gizilbunda in its totality, Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadani, Nairi to its furthest border, Andiu which lies afar off, Mount BAD-hu to its farthest border, up to the great sea of the rising-sun. ⁴⁹

Considering that Adad-nirari III mounted at least ten campaigns against the Zagros mountains in the space of twenty-five years, the parameters of conquest claimed in this inscription may not be improbable. Moreover, he mentions "the great sea of the rising-sun" after Andia, an eastern province of Mannea which we would locate somewhere south of Mianeh, and it is difficult to identify this reference with any other feature than the Caspian Sea. ⁵⁰ It may therefore be inferred that considerable success attended this deep Assyrian penetration of the Zagros as no other Assyrian monarch, before or after Adad-nirari III, claims to have reached this sea. One thing is certain; during this king's reign we see a concentrated effort in the form of at least thirteen campaigns to maintain Assyrian control over its eastern neighbours. ⁵¹

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, there is no direct intimation in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions of the growing power of Urartu in the northern Zagros at this time. Only the oblique reference to Nairi hints at the extent of this Urartian influence and, in order to redress this omission, it is necessary to consider briefly some of the Urartian inscriptions contemporary with the reigns of Shalmaneser III and his immediate successors.

Urartu in the Late Ninth and Early Eighth Centuries B.C.

Some idea of the imperial ambitions of Urartu is evident even in the inscriptions of Sarduri I (ca. 840-ca. 825 B.C.). His city-wall inscription, discovered at Van, adopts the titulary of "Sarduri, son of Lutipri, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of the Nairi-lands" copying the Assyrian model.⁵² However, it seems that the task of parlaying these ambitions into a reality largely devolved onto his son, Ishpuini (ca. 825-ca. 810 B.C.), and grandson, Menua (ca. 810-ca. 785/780 B.C.). During their co-regency, these two rulers recorded their exploits on a number of inscriptions of which three are particularly worth noting. No precise dates can be attached to these inscriptions but it is probable that all are from the few years prior to 810 B.C. when Menua assumed full royal status.

In the Karagündüz inscription, Ishpuini and Menua claim to have conquered the city of Meshta (^{uru}Me-iš-ta), the land of Parsua (^{kur}Bar-šū-a) and three cities associated with Parsua, namely. Quā (^{uru}Qu-ū-a), Šāritu (^{uru}Ša-a-ri-tú) and Nīgibi (^{uru}Ni-i-gi-bi-i). With the exception of Parsua/Barshua, none of these toponyms can be definitely identified in the Neo-Assyrian sources although it has been suggested that Meshta is the Urartian term for Missi.⁵³ If one accepts that the Urartians did indeed conquer Parsua, then the conquest of Missi even closer to Urartu seems quite likely. However, this does not prove that Meshta and Missi are necessarily the same place.

The Kelishin stele establishes another geographical parameter for the Urartian spread into the northern Zagros. Located in the Kelishin pass on the route from Ushnu, south-west of Lake Urmia, to

Rowanduz in north-eastern Iraq, the stele commemorates the establishment by Ishpuini of a shrine to the Urartian god, Haldi, following a successful Urartian campaign against the city of Musasir.⁵⁴

The third inscription from the co-regency of Menua and Ishpuini to be considered here is the one found on the site of Qalatgah in the Ushnu valley in 1968. This text records the conquest of the land of Sapayli, the construction of a temple, and the dedication to Haldi of the city of Uishe.⁵⁵

While these inscriptions do not establish fixed geographical points, they demonstrate that by the time of Shamshi-Adad V Urartu was in possession of the northern Zagros, at least as far south as the Ushnu Valley on the south-west corner of Lake Urmia, and had campaigned in Parsua. That the Assyrian sources are quite mute concerning this encroachment suggests that they lacked the strength and confidence to oppose the Urartians, or were defeated in so doing. It seems likely that the Urartian king, Ishpuini, capitalized on the chaos attending the civil insurrection in Assyria in the latter years of Shalmaneser III. When Shamshi-Adad V re-established internal control in Assyria, he was already confronted with a fait accompli.

Adad-nirari III's Urartian contemporary was Menua (ca. 810-ca. 785/780 B.C.) and four of his inscriptions give some evidence of the advances made in western Iran by the Urartians. Menua's stele socle from Van makes a passing reference to having campaigned in Mannea, perhaps for a second time.⁵⁶ A stone inscription of Menua's which appeared in Ushnaviyeh in 1967 records the erection of a barzidibiduni house and an unnamed citadel; it seems likely that this inscription was originally found on the site of Qalatgah.⁵⁷ Menua's hegemony in

the area of the Ushnu Valley is further established by a brief fragmentary inscription found on a stone niche 54 kms. south of Rezaiyeh on the road to Ushmaviyeh. All that survives are the titles of Menua.⁵⁸

Finally, the brief rock inscription found at Tash Tepe near Mianduab, south-east of Lake Urmia, records laconically the conquest of Mannea by Menua and the erection in the city of Mešta of a garrison-fortress to control the land. The inscription implies that Mešta is in the immediate vicinity.⁵⁹

The First Period: Assyrian Penetration of the Zagros

(911-783 B.C.)

Two major geopolitical shifts characterize this period which spans the interval between Adad-nirari II and Adad-nirari III. The first of these shifts is the ever-increasing Neo-Assyrian concern with and direct intervention in the mountainous regions to its east. The second shift is the growing power of Urartu radiating out from-Azerbaijan. Despite the converging interests of Assyria and Urartu in the Zagros mountains, there is little evidence for direct conflict between the two nations in this area. On only two occasions during this long period, the accession year and 31st palu campaigns of Shalmaneser III, can such direct conflict be documented. In each case, it would seem that the action involved an Assyrian attack on Urartian frontier fortresses in the region west of Lake Urmia. However, the overall strategy was evidently one of indirectly contesting each other's control of the indigenous Zagros polities.

The most dramatic evidence of increasing Assyrian penetration of the Zagros region is the appearance in the royal inscriptions of new

peoples and places. Prior to the reign of Shalmaneser III, Assyrian activities in the east were limited to the subjugation and various areas such as Namri, Zamua, Numme, Kurruri, and Hubushkia, and the establishment of contacts with more removed areas such as Gilzanu. In the accession year of Shalmaneser III (859 B.C.), the Assyrian army marched into the Zagros for the first time of which we have knowledge, penetrating as far as Lake Urmia and Gilzanu. By the 16th palû campaign of Shalmaneser III (843 B.C.), Mannea, Allabria, Parsua, Abdadani, and Ellipi have been brought within the Assyrian orbit. Eight years later, during his 24th palû (835 B.C.), Shalmaneser campaigned even further afield and Missi, Media, Araziash and Harhar make their debut in the inscriptions. By Shalmaneser's 31st palû (827 B.C.), Andia had been added to the growing list of Assyrian tributaries. During the 9th palû campaign (815 B.C.) of Shamshi-Adad V, Gizilbunda was invaded for the first time and tribute was extracted from a long list of otherwise unknown Zagros polities. The fact that many of the tributary polities mentioned in Shamshi-Adad's list never re-appear in Assyrian inscriptions, not even in the equally detailed tribute lists of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, might suggest a depth of penetration that was not to be achieved again after his reign. But it is also possible that many of these polities may have been quite small and were later absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. We have no detailed knowledge of the eastern achievements of Adad-nirari III either with regard to the scope or the success of his campaigns. Yet, the fact remains that no other Assyrian monarch before or after him directed so many campaigns to the east, eight to Media and two to Mannea. In addition, there remains his claim to have reached the "great sea of the rising-sun".

and, as I have argued above, it is difficult to see in this epithet anything other than a reference to the Caspian.

Any attempt to gauge the extent of local Zagros opposition to Assyrian incursions is often confounded by the laconic nature of the sources. Frequently, neither the giving of tribute nor opposition are mentioned and there is no way to judge whether the Assyrians were greeted with hostility or sullen submission or, for that matter, with open arms. During the period reviewed above, campaign contact was made with Hubushkia on at least six occasions.⁶⁰ In the four campaign accounts with details, tribute was rendered. More frequent contact was made with Mannea but few details are preserved of the eight campaigns in this region. The two earliest penetrations of Mannean territory were evidently met with local opposition and the two subsequent penetrations resulted in the payment of tribute.⁶¹ Missi was invaded twice in the same period and both times the Assyrians were resisted.⁶² Allabria is somewhat of a puzzle, being mentioned on three occasions and not mentioned on another three when a reference would be expected. The Assyrians met with opposition on their first contact but in the subsequent two contacts tribute was paid to them.⁶³ Parsua, where the Assyrians campaigned at least five times, gave tribute in the second and fifth contacts, opposed the Assyrians in the first and fourth contacts, and provided a mixed reception of tribute and opposition in the third contact.⁶⁴ Of the ten contact situations between Assyria and Media, the first two were marked by opposition; of the others, we have no details.⁶⁵

In short, the evidence is too fragmentary to allow the perception of trends in the geopolitics of western Iran in this period at

least with regard to the nature of Assyrian contacts with indigenous Zagros polities. No clear pattern emerges from this sort of analysis and it would seem that the Assyrians were just as likely to meet opposition as tribute in a given year. However, the choice of rendering tribute or opposing an Assyrian invasion could not have been determined by whim. It is simply that we cannot perceive in the evidence at our disposal the factors that determined that choice.

Certain phenomena can be singled out for attention. Gilzanu, for example, is last referred to in Shalmaneser III's 31st palû of 828 B.C. and never reappears in Assyrian sources. Although the suggestion cannot be directly documented, it is likely that Gilzanu fell to Urartian arms. By the end of the co-regency of Ishpuini and Menua around 810 B.C., the Kelishin pass was in Urartian possession and Gilzanu isolated, if not conquered outright. Other small polities mentioned during this period also do not reappear in later accounts of campaigns in the Zagros. For example, Harrana/Harruna, Lallara, Burisa, and Shashgana, all evidently in the neighbourhood of Mannea may have been swallowed up by the latter kingdom. Another Zagros polity, Missi, perhaps independent at this stage, was later to become a province of Mannea.⁶⁶

Of Ellipi, we can say very little. No Assyrian claims are made for any territorial penetration of the kingdom and it is mentioned only once, in the 16th palû of Shalmaneser III, as having given tribute in the passes of Tukliash. There is also only a single reference to Harhar, later to become of some importance as an Assyrian provincial centre in central-west Iran. Shalmaneser III was actually in Harhar in his 24th palû but there is no subsequent reference to it, even by

Shamshi-Adad V who conquered neighbouring Araziash in his 9th palû campaign.

This period provides us with our first glimpse of the ethno-historical situation in the Zagros mountains of western Iran. In an admittedly oversimplified account of a complex picture, Levine has commented on certain patterns which emerge in this regard.⁶⁷ The Zagros can be broken down into three major areas. The northernmost area comprises Iranian Kurdistan and the southern part of Azerbaijan. It was occupied by various polities, chiefly Mannea. Of the ethnic affinities of the Mannians, we know little. Onomastic evidence of Mannian royal names from this and later periods show that the ruling class at least can be related to Hurrian elements but this tells us nothing certain about the ethnic composition of those ruled. In this period, we cannot say much about the political structure of Mannea. It was ruled by a king; from later evidence we know that this kingship was hereditary. Zirta, the capital of Mannea, reappears in later Assyrian royal inscriptions as Izirta, further reinforcing this suggested continuity of royal power. Missi and Andia are later known as provinces of Mannea but there is no evidence that provincialization of these areas had already taken place.⁶⁸

The second area defined by Levine is more diverse geographically and politically, consisting of the Sulaimaniya region, northern Luristan, and the westernmost approaches to the Great Khorasan Road. Toponyms and onomastica associated with such polities as Zamua, Namri, Halman, and Harhar suggest a long-established continuity in these areas going back to the late third millennium B.C.⁶⁹

The third area, insofar as the Assyrian sources mention it, includes the Mahidasht and the continuation of the Great Khorasan Road to the east. As Levine points out, this unit must have in actuality covered a greater area than this but the Assyrian sources show only the peripheral regions which they knew directly. About any hinterland, they are silent. The distinguishing feature of this area ethno-historically is that it is here that the Assyrians definitely encounter Iranian groups.⁷⁰

Unfortunately, we learn little about these Iranians from the Assyrian sources. Two major groups are identified, the Parsuai and the Madai, but the rationale behind the distinction eludes us. Although geographically closer to Assyria than the Madai, the Parsuai are a shadowy entity. It is commonly assumed that we can equate these Parsuai and the toponym Parsua with the historical Persians in Achaemenid Fars.⁷¹ Yet, apart from the closely homophonic name, there is no additional evidence of any such connection and an alternative hypothesis that Parsua simply means "frontier" is equally plausible.⁷² Ambiguity arises in the Assyrian use of the term. The name Parsua appears in the sources both as a toponym and, less commonly, in the gentilic form. It is, therefore, uncertain whether the Assyrians are designating an ethnic group analogous to the Medes or simply the people who live in a particular area.

What is clear is that Parsua was not an integrated kingdom or state like Mannea, Ellipi, Allabria or Karalla. In the account of his 24th palû campaign, Shalmaneser III refers to twenty-seven "kings" of Parsua and during his 31st palû campaign we are told that some Parsua "kings" were loyal to Assyria while others rebelled, and the Assyrian

army was obliged to conquer twenty-six centres. In addition, at no stage do the Neo-Assyrian sources ever refer to a central political figure or capital in association with the toponym. Nor, indeed, is any single individual specifically identified as Parsuan and only three Parsuan cities are ever mentioned.⁷³ This odd phenomenon contrasts markedly with Assyrian references to virtually every other Zagros polity; we are told the names of kings and capitals for Mannea, Allabria, Karalla, Bit Abdaḏani, Ellipi, Andia, Zikirtu, and Uishdish. The sources also provide long lists of Median polities with their names and the names of their rulers but never for Parsua, all the more remarkable considering the frequency of contact between the latter and Assyria. Given the available evidence, no ready solutions to these problems present themselves. Although the position cannot be substantiated, I am inclined to believe that Parsua was not a tribal or ethnolinguistic designation but simply an area and that the "Parsuans" were simply Medes who lived on the frontier of Media proper.⁷⁴

Of the Madai in this period, we know even less. There can be little doubt in view of their approximate geographical location, that we are dealing with the Medes. The account of the 9th palu campaign of Shamshi Adad V shows that Media was also politically fragmented into what appear to have been small autonomous chiefdoms.

Turning now to a brief examination of the evidence of Urartian penetration into western Iran, it is possible to see a geographical progression in the available sources. Late in the reign of Sarduri I, Shalmaneser III attacked, during his 31st palu campaign (828 B.C.), Urartian fortresses somewhere between Hubushkia and Gilzanu, probably on the western shore of Lake Urmia. This is, in fact, the last reference

to Gilzanu and we may presume that Shalmaneser's attempt to forestall further Urartian encroachment in this area at best met with only temporary success.⁷⁵ Shortly afterwards, from the co-regency of Ishpuini and Menua, inscriptions document a Urartian presence in the Ushnu Valley (the Qalatgah inscription) and forays as far south as Parsua (the Karagündüz inscription). The Kelishin stele documents Urartian control of Musasir and the Kelishin pass. From the reign of Menua two additional inscriptions from the Ushnu area confirm the Urartian presence there and the Tash Tepe inscription documents Urartian control of the Mianduab area and claims the conquest of Mannea. We can, therefore, establish minimum parameters of Urartian encroachment for this second period stretching from Musasir in the west to Mianduab in the east and including the western foreshore of Lake Urmia. There is no evidence to suggest that Urartu was able to long retain a hold on Mannea, even if we allow the claimed conquest, or to follow up on the Parsuan campaign.

We can only infer the strategic objectives and motives that directed Assyrian policy in the east during this period. The Assyrian sources are as ever somewhat inscrutable in this regard. One of the major problems in any such assessment is judging the emphasis or focus of a campaign which may have actually have traversed a large number of areas. A case in point is Shalmaneser III's 16th palu campaign during which the Assyrian army marched from Mannea to Namri via Allabria, Parsua and Abdadani. Was there one objective more important than the others? Individual campaign accounts are of little assistance in making such judgements and it is only in the overall pattern of campaigns that we might expect some clearer expression of priorities. As we have seen,

however, even that is difficult to establish.

One pattern does clearly emerge from the Assyrian campaign accounts of this period. This is the apparent lack of any claim for lasting political control of the eastern polities.⁷⁶ The penetration into the Zagros area was military in nature; tribute was collected, opponents were conquered or chased off; and the Assyrians retired. We have no way of assessing how haphazard this tribute collection was. We do not know whether tribute was rendered only when there was an Assyrian army in the area or whether it was paid annually. In any case, no areas were provincialized, nor is there any evidence for the establishment of Assyrian garrisons.

A second pattern is perhaps to be seen in a trend away from Assyrian campaigning in the northern Zagros to a focus on the central Zagros, but the pattern cannot be rigorously documented. In all six Zagros campaigns fielded by Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian army either struck directly at the Urartian frontier or marched into Mannea or both. By way of contrast, Adad-nirari III mounted no less than eight campaigns against Media and only two are characterized in the eponym lists as against Mannea. We cannot make too much of this shift. Shalmaneser III also campaigned in the central Zagros and we know little of the scope of Adad-nirari's campaigns, although the evidence suggests it was extensive. Nevertheless, in drawing up the eponym lists and in characterizing a campaign as "to Media" rather than "to Mannea," the Assyrians were expressing a priority of some sort, even if the rationale behind the choice eludes us.

Further discussion of Assyrian objectives and policies in the Zagros mountains is best postponed until a longer historical perspective

has been established. In the following period, spanning the reigns of Shalmaneser IV to Ashur-nirari V, the evidence suggests that the initiative in the northern Zagros passed to the Urartians and Assyria entered a period of decline in which it could not protect its interests in the eastern mountains.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. ARI, 2, pars. 398ff and 411ff.
2. Sometimes called the Gula temple inscription, this text is the longest extant version of the annals of Adad-nirari II. The early campaigns, of which this action was one, are given only in summary form; see the remarks by Grayson, ARI, 2, par. 411 and text, par. 419. The later campaigns are described in more detail and dated according to the limmu or eponym year, beginning with Dur-mati-Ashur in 901 B.C. For eponym dates, see A. Ungnad, "Eponymen," RLA, 2, pp. 412-457. The text is ambiguous and it is not clear whether Adad-nirari means that he marched through Zamuan territory or simply skirted it by staying west of the Bazian Dagh range. Lullume is often used vaguely but by the time of Sargon II was; at least on occasion, a synonym for Zamua; Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 24. Habhu is another general term that evidently had a geographical, rather than a political, connotation and in this sense it is frequently applied to the region north-west of Assyria proper. Obviously, this meaning is inappropriate here and Levine has raised the possibility that there were two areas called Habhu, one to the north-west of Assyria and the other, always written as HAB-hi and perhaps to be read as Kirhi, to the east of Assyria; Levine, RLA, 4 (1), p. 12, sub Habhu.
3. Despite the claims for an Assyrian victory in the Synchronistic History's account of a battle between Adad-nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin I which must have occurred between 893 B.C. and 891 B.C., the establishment of the new frontier line in the vicinity of the Lower Zab and the loss to Assyria of Arrapha and Lubdu indicate that the Babylonians carried the day; see J.A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968), p. 181 (hereafter PKB); A.K. Grayson, "Problematical Battles in Mesopotamian History," Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger . . . (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 339-340; and A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1975), pp. 166-167, Synch. Hist., iii.10ff (hereafter, ABC).
4. ARI, 2, pars. 464ff. The raid on Kirruri begins with par. 468. In this text, the toponym appears as the slight variant, Kirriuri. An earlier raid on Kirriuri is recorded for the reign of Ashur-dan II (934-912 B.C.); see ARI, 2, pars. 365-367.
5. The chaîne magistrale is the highest ridge of the Zagros and forms the modern border between Iran and Iraq; see fig. 1 and Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 3. No geographical definition of Ladanu is possible and the ethnic designations, Aramean and Lullu, are too generalized to be of any assistance in further defining the extent of this campaign.

6. This source, commonly described as "annals," is composite in nature and was prepared during Ashurnasirpal's eighteenth year. Here we are concerned only with the 1st, 3rd and 4th palû campaigns. Although the text postdates these events considerably, the relevant portions evidently duplicate an unpublished edition of the annals of the first five years of Ashurnasirpal's reign; see the comments by W. Schramm, Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften. Zweiter Teil. 934-722 v. Chr. (Leiden: Brill, 1973), pp. 19ff (hereafter EAK, 2). For a translation of the text and a detailed discussion of its composite nature, see also ARI, 2, pars. 533 ff and A.K. Grayson, "Studies in Neo-Assyrian History: The Ninth Century B.C.," Bib. Or., 33 (1976), pp. 138ff.
7. ARI, 2, pars. 544ff. The dating of this campaign to Ashurnasirpal's first regnal year rather than his accession year follows Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), p. 140. On the location of Numme in the Rania plain, see Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 120; the identification is not certain but cannot be far wrong. On Habhu, see n. 2 above.
8. ARI, 2, pars. 554ff.
9. Speiser, AASOR, 8, pp. 1ff.
10. Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 19.
11. ARI, 2, par. 566.
12. In 828 B.C. Ilu-mukin-ahi, governor of Mazamua, was limmu; RLA, 2 (1938), p. 20. Ashurnasirpal's first expedition to Zamua in his 3rd palû is described as a response to a revolt implying prior Assyrian control but whether this relates to Adad-nirari II's brief hold on the area or some subsequent campaign of which we have no knowledge cannot be ascertained.
13. D.J. Wiseman, "A New Stele of Assur-naṣir-pal," Iraq, 14 (1952), pp. 24ff. This is the earliest occurrence of the toponym Musasir in Neo-Assyrian sources.
14. For tribute, tax, and plunder from the eastern campaigns, see ARI, 2, pars. 545, 555, 560, 562-565. It is interesting to note that both Tukulti-ninurta II's campaign against Kurruri and Ashurnasirpal II's 3rd palû campaign against Zamua began late in the normal campaign season in the middle of the month of Tishri (September/October). It might be suggested that the delay was deliberate in order to allow the harvests to be reaped in the areas that were to be invaded, thus providing convenient stockpiles of grain which could be transported back to Assyria.
15. For the imposition of corvée duties on Kurruri, Zamua and other areas in the east, see ARI, 2, pars. 545, 558, and especially 565 where Nimrud is designated as the place where the duties can be performed.

16. The Monolith inscription from Kurkh is the earliest known edition of the annals of Shalmaneser III and covers the period from the accession year to the 6th palû, omitting the 5th palû against the Kashiari region for reasons which are, as yet, unclear; ARAB, I, pars. 595-610. Accounts of the accession year and 4th palû campaigns in later editions of the annals show no significant variation from the more contemporary Monolith.
17. In the Monolith (ARAB, I, par. 598), the scribe has mistakenly written mât gu-za-na-a instead of mât gil-za-na-a. The correct reading is given by Assur 8475 (Michel, WO, 1/1 (1947), p. 9, rev. 3), by the Cameron annals (Michel, WO, 1/6 (1952), p. 458, l. 41) and by the relief inscriptions from the Black Obelisk (Michel, WO, 2/2 (1955), p. 140A).
18. Simesi is mentioned once by Ashurnasirpal II who received tribute from the polity while in Kurruri; ARI, 2, par. 545. Shalmaneser III mentions Simesi several times but never in such a way as to shed further light on its location; see NAT, sub 'Simesi' to which add Michel, WO, 1/1 (1947), p. 9, l. 6; p. 12, l. 13; and WO, 1/5 (1950), p. 390, l. 16. A tentative location along the Shamsdinan-Sendinli tributary of the Tigris can be suggested for Simesi given the proposed locations for both Hubushkia and Kurruri. The Black Obelisk reference to "Simesi at the head of the land of Halman" (Michel, WO, 2/3 (1956), p. 232, l. 190) must be a scribal error. Halman is to be located in the Sar-i Pol-i Zohab region far to the south; Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 25. I would suggest that what we have in this passage is an omission and that it should read, "Through the passes of Simesi [I entered; by the passes] at the head of the land of Halman, I descended" or some such formulaic phrase; cf. the formula used at the close of the Monolith's account of the 3rd palû campaign (ARAB, I, par. 607). The polities associated with the gentilic designations, Hargeans, Harmaseans, Simereans, Siresheans and Ulmaneans cannot be located with any certainty although a connection between Ulmaneans and Mannea cannot be ruled out.
19. For the Monolith, see ARAB, I, par. 609. The other accounts of the 4th palû campaign against Zamua all agree among themselves on the route and vary only in mentioning either or both Zamuan princes; see Michel, WO, 1/6 (1952), p. 462, ll. 10-15 (IM 54669, the Cameron annals); WO, 2/1 (1954), p. 30, ll. 6-9 (IM 55644, the Safar inscription); WO, 2/2 (1955), pp. 146-148, ll. 50-52 (the Black Obelisk); ARAB, I, par. 664 (the Bulls inscription); and J. Laessoe, "A Statue of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud," Iraq, 21 (1959), p. 150, ll. 24-26. The Nimrud Throne Base inscription gives no geographical details but supplies an extra piece of information to the effect that Anare, ruler of the land of Bunisa, was also defeated; P. Hulin, "The Inscription on the Carved Throne-Base of Shalmaneser III," Iraq, 25 (1963), pp. 54-56, ll. 42-44.

20. The Cameron annals (IM 54669) cover the entire first half of the reign of Shalmaneser III down to and including the 16th palû campaign and are dated to 842 B.C.; see G. Cameron, "The Annals of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria: A New Text," Sumer, 6 (1950), pp. 6ff. and Michel, WO, 1/6 (1952), pp. 454-475. VAT 9651 is a duplicate of the Cameron annals and thus adds nothing new; Michel, WO, 1/1 (1947), pp. 7ff. The campaign is mentioned without designation as such in the text of the Kurba'il statue; J.V. Kinnier-Wilson, "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III," Iraq, 24 (1962), p. 94, ll. 19-20. The texts of the Nimrud Bulls, almost verbatim copies of IM 54669, are heavily damaged for the 16th palû. The Black Obelisk omits the entire first part of the campaign and recounts only the attack on Namri; Michel, WO, 2/2 (1955), p. 152, ll. 93-95. The Safar annals (IM 55644) summarize the campaign and, although variant forms of toponyms appear such as Namur for Namri, the relative order of toponyms is identical; Michel, WO, 2/1 (1954), p. 36, ll. 33-37. On the chronological problems of the later years of Shalmaneser III where there is an apparent conflict between the royal inscriptions and the eponym chronicle C^b, see Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), pp. 140f.
21. •Abdadani and Habban lie on a line of march from Parsua in the northern Mahidasht and Namri west of the Qara Dagħ range and north of the Diyala. Since Shalmaneser claims to have exited from the mountains through Habban and considering that the Great Khorasan Road through the Sar-i Pol region is the only feasible exit from the central Zagros, a location for Habban in the latter region is likely. If that be the case, Abdadani must therefore lie between the northern Mahidasht and the Sar-i Pol area along one or two possible routes. The first of these runs down the Mahidasht to connect with the Great Khorasan Road leading west into the Shahabad valley. An alternative route leads due west from Ravansar in the northern Mahidasht and then turns south-west down the valley of the Ab-i Zimkan river, east of the Kuh-i Shahan before connecting with the Great Khorasan Road to the south. Abdadani should therefore be located in either the Shahabad valley or the Ab-i Zimkan valley.
22. The basic source for the 24th, 30th, and 31st palû campaigns is the Black Obelisk, evidently the final edition of the annals of Shalmaneser III; Michel, WO, 2/2 (1955), pp. 154ff., ll. 110ff. The Nimrud statue of Shalmaneser III (ND5500 = IM 60496) preserves only the first part of the campaign against Namri and thus adds nothing new to the Obelisk account; Laessoe, Iraq, 21 (1959), pp. 147ff.
23. Michel, WO, 2/3 (1956), pp. 226ff., ll. 159ff.
24. Madahisa occurs this one time in Neo-Assyrian sources and must have been a small polity somewhere between Husushkia and Mannea.
25. Harruna is presumably the same as the land of Harrana which rendered tribute to Shalmaneser III during his 31st palû, q.v. Otherwise, the toponym does not re-occur in the Neo-Assyrian

sources. In general terms, it must have been located somewhere along the route between Mannea and Allabria but no specific location can be suggested.

26. Onomastic evidence is potentially a mine of important information but a detailed consideration of it should be left to a scholar more skilled in linguistics than I. Nevertheless, I would draw the reader's attention to the fact that while the king of Allabria mentioned in Shalmaneser's 16th palû campaign had a Kassite name, Janziburiash, the new king has an Iranian name, Artasari. As Gelb has pointed out, inferences concerning the ethnicity of the general population of a polity based on individual, and especially royal, names are unwarranted; I.J. Gelb, "Ethnic Reconstruction and Onomastic Evidence," Names, 10 (1962), pp. 45ff.
27. Michel, WO, 2/3 (1956), pp. 230ff., ll. 174-190.
28. Van Loon has suggested a connection between this Zapparia and the land of Şapayli/Şapaya mentioned in the Qalatgah inscription of Ishpuini and Menua; JNES, 34 (1975), p. 204. The suggestion is interesting but should be viewed with caution.
29. Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), pp. 140ff.
30. For the most recent discussion of the chronological problems of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V and a proposed resolution of the apparent conflict between the royal inscriptions and the eponym chronicle, see Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), pp. 140ff. Grayson's conclusions are followed here.

While there is no record in the royal inscriptions for a campaign preceding the "first" campaign against Nairi and while the Sultantepe exemplar (STT 46 + 348) of the eponym chronicle C^b gives the entry "rebellion" for all the years prior to 819 B.C., we should note in passing that Rm. 2, 97 preserves the fragmentary entry lx-ri-is for the 4th palû, 820 B.C. A check of the reverse index of NAT shows that the only known Assyrian toponym with such an ending is Sikris (Si-ik-ri-is), a land and town in Media; see NAT, p. 309, for references. See also Wiseman, Iraq, 20 (1958), p. 82, where he refers to a raid on Sikris by Shamshi-Adad V and dates it to 823 B.C. It is just possible, although perhaps unlikely, that a campaign against Sikris has gone unrecorded in the royal inscriptions. Against such a suggestion we must note that the only other references to Sikris in the Neo-Assyrian period come from the reigns of Sargon II and Esarhaddon. The name may have some antiquity, however, if it can be equated with the mat Si-ig-ri-is^{ki} which occurs in texts of the Ur III period from the reign of Shu-suen; see D.O. Edzard, "Neue Inschriften zur Geschichte von Ur III unter Šusuen," AfO, 19 (1959-60), p. 9, col. V.16; p. 12, col. VII.28-30; and p. 21 comments.

31. The only complete edition of the annals of Shamshi-Adad V on the Nimrud stele (BM 118892) is that by Scheil which was unavailable to me; V. Scheil, Inscription assyrienne archaïque de Šamši-Rammān IV, roi d'Assyrie (Paris, 1889). For the parallel text of the Ashur stele, see E. Weidner, "Die Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V. gegen Babylonien," AfO, 9 (1933/34), p. 91. The translation used here is Luckenbill's; ARAB, I, pars. 714ff.
32. ARAB, I, par. 716.
33. Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), p. 143.
34. ARAB, I, par. 716. The reading "Shurdira" rather than "Paddirā" is given by Schramm, EAK, 2, p. 108.
35. ARAB, I, par. 717. Even more curiously, the epithet is repeated at the close of the detailed account of the third campaign; ARAB, I, par. 722. I am loath to invoke scribal error as an explanation but in this case, there seems no alternative.
36. The name of Ushpina's land is not given. However, the occurrence of Sharsina's name in the early part of the third campaign of Shamshi-Adad suggests a location for his land somewhere east of Mt. Kullar (the Bazian Dagħ range) although how far east is uncertain. An additional point which is perhaps worth noting is that the name of Sharsina's father, Mektiara, is obviously related to the same family of names as Kirtiara and Nikdiari, both Zamuan leaders; see ARAB, I, pars. 450, 453, 561, 609, 644.
37. TCL III, l. 12; Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 19.
38. ARAB, I, pars. 718-722.
39. Levine, TNAS, pp. 34ff.
40. A comparison with the itinerary of Sargon II's 8th palū campaign suggests that, with the exception of Hubushkia, the toponyms mentioned by Shamshi-Adad reflect the actual sequence in which they were encountered.
41. On the translation of Akk. guhlu (Sum. bishbizida) as "antimony," see M. Streck, "Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilschriften," ZfA, 15 (1900), p. 299; R. Labat, Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne (Paris, 1948), p. 123, no. 215: Šem-bi-zi-da; CAD, 'G', sub guhlu; and AHW, s.v. The main source areas of antimony in Iran are in the central and eastern plateau near Anarak and Shurab but the mineral is also mined at an unspecified location near Hamadan; A. Melamid, "Industrial activities," in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. I: The Land of Iran, ed. W.B. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 512-513 and p. 544.

42. Assyrian figures for enemy casualties are often inflated and cannot be taken at face value. However, it is probable that they do reflect the relative strength of opposition offered by the various polities. The muši-stone mountain (sadê na⁴ mu-si; KB, I, p. 182, l. 37) evidently uses a foreign loan word which defies translation; see C. Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 179; W. von Soden, AHW, 8, p. 679, sub mušu 1; and CAD, 'M', p. 247a. Araziash bordered on Harhar and was incorporated into a province centered on Harhar by Sargon II during his 6th palû campaign, q.v. It must, therefore, be somewhere in the Mahidasht/Kermanshah area.
43. There seems no satisfactory solution to this problem. If one argues that the list includes all tribute collected during the campaign, then one must explain the lack of reference to tribute payments mentioned earlier. If, on the other hand, the list refers only to tribute from the latter part of the campaign, then it is curious that Taurlu should appear again.
44. eg., Pirishati (Parsa-shatar), Ashpashtatauk, and several PN's with 'arta' as a component; Diakonov, Istoria Medii (1956), pp. 372ff.
45. References to another Hundur cannot be to the same city as the one in this tribute list; see Parpola, NAT, p. 169, sub Hundur. Ginhuhtu bears some resemblance to the city of Ga-an-gu-uh-tu mentioned by Sargon II and may be an exception; see Bottā, Monuments . . ., IV, 180.8, cited by Parpola, NAT, sub Ganguhtu. Abdanu may be another exception. It is close to the more familiar Abdadani/Bit Abdadani and it is possibly a scribal error, particularly easy to explain considering that the following personal name in the tribute list is Adadanu!
- It is interesting to note the number of toponyms in the list that begin with Kin- or Gin-. A check of all such toponyms listed in NAT beginning with Ki-in- or Gi-in- shows that without exception they can all be related to western Iran. Moreover, with one exception, Kinashtania in the Urartian province of Sangibuti, they are all associated with central-west Iran. It is possible that we have here a prefix rather like the Sanskrit suffix kantha = "town", Iranian kanθa, known in several Middle Iranian dialects and still preserved in, for example, Tashkent and Samarkand; see Georg Morgenstierne, Acta Iranica, I (1974), p. 274.
46. Brinkman, PKB, p. 216f.
47. H. Tadmor, "The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-Nirari III," Iraq, 35 (1973), p. 141. The category is equivalent to Schrader's original "Übersichtinschriften," his later "Prunkinschriften" and Olmstead's "Display Inscriptions"; see Tadmor for full bibliography.

48. Eponym canon C^b1; RLA, 2 (1938), pp. 428ff. The sequence of objectives for the years 787-782 B.C. is confirmed by C^b2; RLA, 2 (1938), p. 431.
49. Tadmor, Iraq, 35 (1973), pp. 148-150. Tadmor suggests the probable reading of "Mount Gizilbunda" rather than "the land of Gizilbunda" and also the reading "Mt. BAD-hu to its full extent" (p. 149). A Mt. BAD-hu is otherwise unknown.
50. Zeribor can be ruled out because it is too small to deserve the epithet "great" and; in any case, it would be inappropriate as a limit for Assyrian influence. Lake Urmia can also be ruled out because it was known to the Assyrians as "the lower sea of Nairi." The Caspian sea is the only other body of water in the east large enough to warrant such a description.
51. A tablet fragment from Nimrud (ND 5417) possibly to be assigned to Adad-nirari III, describes in part a military campaign in eastern areas. The text is fragmentary and little can be made of it but deportation of prisoners is mentioned and reference is made to the lands of Sunbai, Hubushkia, Allabria, Namri and Shurdira. See D.J. Wiseman, "Fragments of historical texts from Nimrud," Iraq, 26 (1964), p. 119, and Schramm, EAK, 2, p. 118. For the reading "Namri" rather than "Sabai", see Schramm, Orientalia, n.s., 38, p. 226 and for the reading "Shurdira" rather than "Burdira", see Grayson, JNES, 31 (1972), p. 220b. Borger is inclined to attribute this text either to Shamshi-Adad V or Adad-nirari III; HKL I, p. 640. Arguments can also be advanced in favour of Shalmaneser III or Sargon II; L.D. Levine, private communication.
52. König, HCI, p. 37, no. 1a-c.
53. Karagündüz (Charakonis) is on the east shore of Lake Ercek, north-east of Van. See König, HCI, p. 40, no. 7 and G.A. Melikishvili, Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi (Moscow, 1960), pp. 138ff., no. 24 (hereafter, UKN). The toponym Qua should not be confused with the Qua mentioned by Sennacherib in his 5th palu campaign as the latter was situated on Mt. Nipur in Kummuhu (Commagene); ARAB, II, pars. 244 and 295. On the suggestion that Meshta of the Karagündüz and Tash Tepe inscriptions is the Mannean province of Missi, see the critical assessment by Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p. 114 and n. 16. The argument is based partly on the phonetic shift of st>ss which occurs in Neo-Assyrian but Levine discounts this as an explanation for the differences between the two toponyms. However, his location for Missi in the Zeribor basin had much to do with his rejection of the equation of the two toponyms. Locating Missi in the Bijar area, as I have suggested, brings it considerably closer to the area of Urartian settlement in southern Azerbaijan and makes the identification all the more probable. One difficulty still exists,

however. The Tash Tepe inscription at Mianduab suggests that Meshta is close by but the passage is ambiguous and this need not rule out the proposed identification. The question cannot be resolved on the basis of the available evidence.

54. The stele has a bilingual Assyrian/Urartian text so that while Musasir appears in the Assyrian text, it is called Ardini in the Urartian text. See König, HCI, pp. 41-50, no. 9 (= Melikishvili, UKN, pp. 125ff., no. 19). The most recent and best edition of the text is that by W.C. Benedict, "The Urartian-Assyrian Inscription of Kelishin," JAOS, 81 (1961), pp. 359-385.
55. The Qalatgah inscription was published by Van Loon, JNES, 34 (1975), pp. 201-207. As the complete inscription was evidently twice as wide as the extant fragment, the translation is tentatively presented. Van Loon notes that while the text of line 3 reads kur Şa-pa-ga-u-ê, the pronunciation would have been Şapayli, given that the Urartian scribes used the ga sign to express the phonetic value ya. Moreover, he suggests that the Assyrians would have heard the name of the country in its locative form as 'Şapaya' and points to a possible connection with Şapparia, the stronghold of the land of Muşasir mentioned in the course of the 31st palû campaign of Shalmaneser III; see Van Loon, p. 204. Uishe is possibly to be connected with Uaiais, an Urartian frontier fortress taken by Sargon II in his 8th palû campaign, q.v.
56. See König, HCI, no. 16, pp. 58-59. If we allow Urartu the western conquests claimed in the first part of this inscription, we have further evidence of the increasing might of the kingdom. The second part is unfortunately fragmentary and one cannot be certain of the content.
57. See J. Friedrich, "Urartäische Inschriften aus Iran," AMI.NF, 2 (1969), pp. 121-122. It is unclear as to what kind of building the barzidibiduni-house was although several were erected at other sites; see Van Loon, JNES, 34 (1975), p. 201 for references and for the attribution of this inscription to Qalatgah as originally suggested by O.W. Muscarella, "Qalatgah: An Urartian Site in Northwestern Iran," Expedition, 13 (1971), p. 48.
58. E. von Schuler, "Urartäische Inschriften aus Bastam II," AMI.NF, 5 (1972), pp. 122-124; W. Kleiss, "Bericht über Erkundungsfahrten in Iran im Jahre 1971," AMI.NF, 5 (1972), pp. 149-152 and fig. 23.
59. See König, HCI, pp. 59-60, no. 17.
60. Campaigns of 881, 829, 828, 815, 801, 784 B.C.
61. Campaigns of 843, 829, 828, 827, 819, 815, 807, 806 B.C.
62. Campaigns of 835 and 815 B.C.
63. Campaigns of 843, 829, and 819 B.C. In 835, 828 and 815 the Assyrians must have been very close to Allabria but it is not mentioned.

64. Campaigns of 843, 835, 829, 828 and 815 B.C.
65. Campaigns of 835, 815, 809, 800, 799, 793, 792, 789, 788, and 787 B.C.
66. ARAB, II, par. 148. Note that in the 9th palû campaign of Shamshi-Adad V, while Mannea provided tribute, Missi pursued its own policy and opposed the Assyrians.
67. L.D. Levine, "Prelude to Monarchy: Iran and the Neo-Assyrian Empire," in Iranian Civilization and Culture, ed. C.J. Adams (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1972), pp. 39ff.
68. Levine, pp. 39-40.
69. Levine, p. 40. For third and second millennia B.C. references to Harhar, see RLA, 4, nos. 2-3 (1973), pp. 120-121.
70. Levine, p. 40.
71. See, for example, Levine, p. 40 and D. Stronach, Pasargadae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 283ff.
72. See the discussion of various hypotheses on the etymology of Parsua and similar toponyms in R.N. Frye, The Heritage of Persia (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), pp. 47-48. The suggestion that Parsua means "frontier" is Diakonov's; I.M. Diakonov, Istoria Medii (Moscow: Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R., 1956), p. 69.
73. Bushtu, Shalahamanu, and Kinihamanu in Shalmaneser III's 31st palû campaign. Another city probably to be located in Parsua is Nikur mentioned during the 2nd palû campaign of Tiglath-pileser III in 744 B.C., q.v.
74. During his 8th palû campaign, Sargon II stopped in Parsua where he received tribute from "governors of Namri, Sangibuti, Bit Abdadani and of the land of the powerful Medes"; TCL III, 11. 39ff. There follows a list of tributaries comprising Talta of Ellipi and twenty-six Iranian chiefs who are usually assumed to be Medes. The coincidence of this figure with the twenty-seven "kings" of Parsua mentioned by Shalmaneser III and the twenty-six centres taken in his 31st palû campaign is curious and makes one wonder if this is a list of Medes from Media proper or a list of tributaries from within Parsua itself. Counting against this latter suggestion is the fact that none of the Parsuan cities named in the preceding note appear in the toponyms associated with Sargon's tributaries although the possibility that the cities had been renamed cannot be dismissed.

75. See Brinkman, PKB, p. 201 and n. 1230 where he comments adversely on the success of Shalmaneser's eastern campaigns, "The singular lack of success of Shalmaneser's chosen representatives in putting down the eastern rebellions in 829 and 828 may have been one of the factors in the revolt of the Assyrian cities in the following year." Apart from the suggested connection between the outcome of the eastern campaigns and the Assyrian civil war, the available evidence does not really support the rather unequivocal judgement of "singular lack of success."
76. Levine, p. 39.

CHAPTER 3

ASSYRIAN DECLINE AND URARTIAN SUPREMACY IN THE NORTHERN ZAGROS (782-745 B.C.)

For approximately forty years after the reign of Adad-nirari III, the power of Assyria appears to have decreased drastically in a period characterized by increasing Urartian hegemony and by the diminution of the central authority of the Assyrian monarch.¹ This period, which includes the reigns of Shalmaneser IV (782-773 B.C.), Ashur-dan III (772-755 B.C.) and Ashur-nirari V (754-745 B.C.); is very poorly documented but it is clear from the eponym lists that during much of it Assyria was militarily inactive.

Shalmaneser IV (782-773 B.C.)

The reign of Shalmaneser IV was marked by a series of confrontations between Assyria and Urartu, a strategy which both nations had apparently avoided up to that time. The limmu lists show that six of the ten campaigns fielded by Shalmaneser IV were directed against Urartu but we do not even know the theatre of operations, let alone the outcome of these contests.² Unless some of these "Urartian" campaigns took place in Azerbaijan, there is no evidence of any Assyrian military activity in the Zagros during Shalmaneser's reign. It is unlikely in the extreme that this can be interpreted as denoting a stable situation between Assyria and its Zagros tributaries. It would seem, therefore, that despite the strenuous efforts of Shamshi-Adad V

and Adad-nirari III, the eastern mountains were temporarily beyond Assyrian control.

Ashur-dan III (772-755 B.C.)

Only a few inscribed objects survive from the reign of Ashur-dan III and none are historical in nature. A bare minimum of information can be extracted from the eponym canon, C^b1, and it testifies to the difficult political circumstances in which Assyria languished during Ashur-dan III's reign.³

According to the eponym canon, four of Ashur-dan's eighteen years of rule were spent "in the land," that is without mounting an annual campaign, usually to be interpreted as a sign of internal unrest. A further six years were taken up with revolts in Assyria itself and in Guzana (Tell Halaf in the upper Habur valley). Campaigns in Syria and Babylonia were conducted in seven of the king's years of the reign and another year (767 B.C.) saw the Assyrians involved with Media. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this list is the lack of any reference to a campaign against Urartu, although the significance of this omission is obscure. It is possible that, for the time being, the Assyrian-Urartian conflict had reached a stalemate, but more likely that Assyria, wracked by internal revolt, was simply too enfeebled to meet the Urartians in a headlong clash. The situation was to become even more dismal in the reign of Ashur-nirari V.

Ashur-nirari V (754-745 B.C.)

Only two texts can be definitely ascribed to the reign of Ashur-nirari V; both are treaties which cast no light on conditions in the Zagros mountains.⁴ Once again, the eponym lists constitute our main source of information and they clearly show the military impotence of Assyria.⁵ Of the eight years of Ashur-nirari V's reign, five were spent "in the land," another two were devoted to subduing Namri, and in the eighth year there was a revolt in Nimrud. This was, undoubtedly, the nadir of the Neo-Assyrian period. Fortunately, the annals of Argishti I of Urartu and the inscriptions of Sarduri II, his successor, provide additional information on the Zagros in this period.

Argishti I. (ca. 785/80-ca. 760 B.C.)

The individual campaigns in the annals of Argishti I cannot be precisely dated, as no regnal years are provided in the Urartian royal inscriptions, nor are they dated by eponyms.⁶ For convenience, the campaigns are referred to here according to their sequential order in the inscription and it should be understood that the fifth campaign did not necessarily occur in Argishti's fifth year of rule. In all some fifteen campaigns are described in the Van citadel rock inscription. Of these we are concerned with the fifth through the thirteenth, all of which were directed wholly or in part against various areas in the northern and central Zagros. The campaign accounts are extremely laconic, many terms used are obscure in meaning, and numerous toponyms are otherwise unknown. Accordingly, I have extracted only the most relevant details of each campaign.

In his fifth campaign, Argishti records that he defeated the hurati-troops of Assyria, possibly to be understood as foreign mercenaries in Assyrian pay.⁷ In addition, he conquered a ruler named Dadi in the mountains of Qilashini, took the city of Shurharara in the land of Bushtu, and invaded the land of Barshuai. The latter must be understood as a reference to Parsua in the northern Mahidasht and Bushtu may also be located in the central Zagros. It is tempting to connect Qilashini with the Kelishin pass but the identification is uncertain.⁸

The hurati-troops of Assyria were defeated again in Argishti's sixth campaign and subsequently won over to the Urartian side. The lands of Bushtu and Tariuni were conquered and Dadi, who had resisted the Urartians in the previous campaign, was finally defeated and his polity, named Auarashi, was taken away from Assyria. The campaign concluded in the mountains bordering the land of Ma-(. . .)-a, possibly to be understood as a reference to Media.⁹

Campaigns seven through thirteen were all directed against Mannea with Bushtu appearing several times as an additional target. Barshuai does not appear again. Many of the toponyms mentioned in these campaigns bear a close correspondence to others known from the 8th palû campaign of Sargon II.¹⁰ A new reconstruction of the course of Sargon's campaign suggests that these toponyms can all be located within western Azerbaijan in the Urartian provinces which ringed Lake Urmia.¹¹ It is likely, therefore, that most of Argishti's military activity can also be localized in this area. The claim to have conquered Mannea must be viewed with suspicion and it is more probable that Argishti is referring only to those parts of Mannea which lay around the southern shore of Lake Urmia. Nevertheless, the achievements

of Argishti were considerable; by the close of his reign, Urartu was in control of the entire Urmia basin which is, even today, perhaps the most fertile area in western Iran. Much less is known of the exploits of his successor, Sarduri II, in the northern Zagros but it would seem that Urartian power in the area remained entrenched.

Sarduri II (ca. 760 - ca. 730 B.C.)

Of the numerous inscriptions of Sarduri II (ca. 760-ca. 730 B.C.) only two afford us some information concerning Assyria and western Iran. During Sarduri's reign, Urartu continued to expand to the west and the north. In the former area, a bridgehead was secured on the Euphrates and Melitene and Commagene were brought into vassalage. This effectively interdicted the main trade route coming east from Anatolia to Assyria and, it has been suggested, cut off the source area of the western Taurus from which the Assyrians obtained strategically essential iron.¹²

One annal inscription of Sarduri's laconically records the defeat of the land of Ashur-nirari, King of Assyria but the remainder of the text in which we might have expected further details on the extent and location of this victory is fragmentary.¹³ Another edition of the annals of Sarduri, evidently dating from the latter half of the king's reign, preserves a few references to the Zagros. The earliest of these references describes an impromptu campaign against Mannea during which Sarduri burned the cities and deported the population in the areas he conquered. The account immediately goes on to say that he also took the fortified citadel of the city of Darba(ni), incorporated that area into Urartu, and installed a military commander in

the city.¹⁴

The next reference to the Zagros area mentions the conquest of the lands of Ushkia and Bammi in connection with some individuals who had perhaps taken refuge there.¹⁵ The last reference concerns a campaign against Mannea which penetrates as far as the land of Babilu, ending on the border of Mount Baruata, a landmark which Argishti I located in Barshuai.¹⁶

Compared to the frequent references to the Zagros to be found in the annals of Argishti I, these few examples from the time of Sarduri II reflect a marked drop in Urartian military activity in that area. We can only guess at the reasons behind this phenomenon but given Urartu's military successes in other theatres of warfare, it is unlikely that the drop in activity was due to military impotence. On the contrary, when one takes into consideration the vigorous campaigns in the Zagros by Argishti I, the relative weakness of Assyria, and the ascendancy of Urartu in other areas, the most likely inference to be made is that Sarduri considered Urartu's hold on Mannea strong enough under the circumstances and perceived no immediate threat to Urartu's southern flank.

The Second Period: Assyrian Decline and Urartian Supremacy

(782-745 B.C.)

Although this period is poorly documented and rather short, a mere thirty-six years, it stands in marked contrast to the preceding period. With regard to the Zagros in particular, Assyria was militarily inactive. Only one campaign in the area, that of Ashur-dan III against

Media in 767 B.C., is recorded in the eponym chronicle C^b1 although the three campaigns against Namri, one by Shalmaneser IV (775 B.C.) and two by Ashur-nirari V (750-49 B.C.), may conceal some additional activity in the east. This contrasts sharply with the pattern of repeated Urartian campaigns against the Zagros during the contemporary reigns of Argishti I and Sarduri II. Assyria evidently managed to maintain its hold on the province of Kirruri but beyond that there is no evidence that it could counter an Urartian threat to the Zagros.¹⁷

Assyria, in this period, seems the "sick man" of the Near East. Half of the period, eighteen campaign years, was spent fighting in Syria and Babylonia while an additional fifteen years were spent "in the land," six of them coping with civil revolt. In addition to the internal strife acknowledged by the eponym chronicle, we have already drawn attention to evidence for the diminished authority of the Assyrian monarch within his own empire. For those areas of the Zagros beyond the reach of Urartian power, this must have been a period of relative freedom from the obligations of tribute and tax.

The annals of Argishti I and Sarduri II are frustratingly terse in their description of cities and lands conquered. Nevertheless, the ability of the Urartians to intervene in the Zagros evidently continued to increase after the reigns of Ishpuini and Menua. For Argishti we can document no less than nine campaigns against Mannea, including one as far as Parsua, two to the borders of Assyria, and one possibly to the borders of Media. The annals of Sarduri II are poorly preserved but they refer to a minimum of three Zagros campaigns. Again, one of these seems to have been carried all the way to Parsua.

Intervention is the keyword as there is little evidence of greatly increased geographical control. It may be inferred from the Qalatgah building inscription that Ishpuini and Menua had control of the western Urmia basin as far south as the Ushnu valley. The Tash Tepe building inscription of Menua suggests that by some time later in his reign this control had been extended further south and east to the Mianduab region. No building inscriptions from the reigns of Argishti or Sarduri II have been found in Iran so there is no direct evidence for any further extension of Urartian control in their reigns.

What is clear from Argishti's annals is a repetitive drive towards the south. Every year from the sixth to the thirteenth campaign, a military effort was mounted against either Mannea or Parsua or both. The reasons for this protracted struggle are obscure; only once with regard to the tenth campaign is there the suggestion of a motive--a punitive expedition against a city. Yet the consistent policy of raiding far to the south would seem to demand some explanation.

Apart from the consistency of Urartian policy, it is also important to note the perseverance of local opposition to Urartian military incursions. There is little evidence to suggest that Assyria was able to stiffen Mannean and Parsuan resistance against Urartu while there is much evidence, admittedly inferential in character, pointing to the opposite extreme. How do we therefore explain this continued opposition which Argishti and Sarduri II met? In discussing this period, Burney admits to finding it hard to believe that Mannea alone could have repeatedly resisted the brunt of the Urartian army and suggests the possibility of some Median intervention.¹⁸ The suggestion

is a welcome reminder that some Median coalition may well have developed a "foreign" policy of its own but beyond that we cannot go with the present evidence. We have no evidence of such a coalition in this period, the Medes are nowhere mentioned in Urartian sources of any period, and simpler explanations are possible.

We must allow for the possibility that the Urartian campaigns were limited in nature, perhaps directed against specific objectives and executed swiftly in order to maintain a state of imbalance in the region of Mannea and Parsua. We cannot simply assume that they were deliberate attempts to conquer and rigidly control areas which repeatedly managed to rebel. In addition, there is no reason to doubt, as Burney implicitly does, the resiliency of Mannea. It was to maintain its identity for over a century and a half after this period in spite of Urartian and Assyrian attempts to control it.

Urartian supremacy in the Zagros was to be short-lived. In the next period, the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, a re-invigorated and reorganized Assyria launched a concerted series of attacks on its northern neighbour that whittled away at the Urartian gains of the previous four decades and culminated in the crushing of Urartian power in the Urmia basin by Sargon II in 714 B.C.

Endnotes to chapter 3

1. From this period are known a number of self-laudatory inscriptions by high Assyrian functionaries who fail to mention the name of their king. The Til Barsip lion inscription authored by the turtānu, Shamshi-ilu, is an example; F. Thureau-Dangin, "L'inscription des lions de Til-Barsip," RA, 27 (1930), pp. 11-21.
2. RLA, 2 (1938), p. 430; entries for Shalmaneser IV's 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th and 8th palû campaigns.
3. RLA, 2 (1938), p. 430.
4. Schramm, EAK, 2, pp. 123-124.
5. RLA, 2 (1938), p. 430.
6. König, HCI, pp. 86-100. The annals are inscribed on a rock face at the west end of the south side of the Van citadel.
7. The hurati-troops (LU hu-ra-a-di-e) was a term applied to soldiers but the precise meaning is not known; CAD 'H', p. 244; sub hurādu A. The fact that Argishti won these troops over to his side in his sixth campaign suggests that they were mercenaries and not Assyrians.
8. There is a Kurdish etymology for modern Kelishin but this may be a contrived etymology for a much older toponym and the identification cannot be ruled out on that basis alone. Toponyms beginning with the element Sur- are rare. The three other occurrences known in Neo-Assyrian sources are all from the central Zagros; Shurgadia in Parsua, Shurdira in Allabria, and Mt. Shurda in Karalla. See Parpola, NAT, p. 340 for references. Bushtu is listed as a city in Parsua during the 31st palû campaign of Shalmaneser III: ARAB, I, par. 588.
9. Tariuni was evidently a region in Mannea; see König, HCI, p. 98, par. 13, III (Sirani is a city in Tariu) and cf. p. 95, par. 10, II and IV (Sirani is in Mannea). The toponym is possibly to be connected with Tarui located in the Urartian province of Baru-Sangibutu and mentioned in Sargon II's 8th palû campaign; ARAB, II, pars. 20 and 159. Ma-(: . .)-a is unlikely to be Mannea which would have been written Ma-na-ni in Urartian cuneiform. If this is a reference to Media, it is unique in Urartian sources.
10. See the discussion by Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, p. 147.
11. Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, pp. 135ff.
12. M. Van Loon, Urartian Art (Istanbul, 1966), p. 11.

13. König, HCI, p. 117, no. 102, right side, I, 4.
14. König, HCI, no. 103, par. 14, III-IV.
15. König, HCI, no. 103, par. 15, XIV.
16. Argishti refers to the landmark during his fifth campaign. König translates KUR Baruata as "the land of Baruata" but this makes little sense in the passage and "mountain" is to be preferred. The toponym may possibly be connected to the Mt. Biruatti which Sargon II crossed during his 8th palû campaign somewhere between Sumbi (in Zamua) and Surikash but, if this is the case, then the Urartians conceived of Parsua as being somewhat larger than it actually was, inasmuch as we can judge from the Neo-Assyrian sources. See König, HCI, p. 91, par. V, 12, and TEL III, 1. 28.
17. The governor of Kirruri was the limmu for the year 766 B.C. so Kirruri was still a province at least up to this date; RLA, 2 (1938), p. 430, rev. 5.
18. C.A. Burney and D.M. Lang, The Peoples of the Hills (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), p. 145.

CHAPTER 4

ASSYRIAN REVANCHISM IN THE ZAGROS (745-705 B.C.)

The next forty years after the reign of Ashur-nirari V saw a remarkable turnabout in the fortunes of Assyria. The justification for setting this period apart is that it was during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II that the "Urartian question" was largely resolved. The conflict between the two nations peaked and, thereafter, an uneasy status quo prevailed, only occasionally marred by limited clashes.

Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.)

The value of the historical sources from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) has been greatly augmented in recent years by new finds and a thorough re-edition of all known inscriptions.¹ The new finds comprise two new recensions of the annals, one in the form of a relief at Mila Mergi in northern Iraq, and the other in the form of three fragments of a stele for which a central-west Iranian provenience has been claimed.²

These circumstances are particularly fortunate as it is during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III that Assyria underwent a radical transformation from a relatively impotent state to an imperial power. Urartian advances in the north and west were at first checked and then thrown back. Babylonia was conquered. The internal administration of Assyria and her empire was re-organized, introducing a new measure of

stability. These were not inconsiderable achievements for a reign of less than two decades.

In this context, it is of value to look briefly at the pattern of campaigns for the first fifteen years of Tiglath-pileser's reign.³ The first two campaigns were directed against Babylonia and Namri respectively. The following nine campaigns, with the exception of the 8th palû, seem to be a patterned attack on Urartu. The pattern begins in the west with four campaigns (palûs 3-6) against the area of Arpad, resulting in a major defeat of Sarduri II and the annexation of Arpad. The thrust then turns to the north with the 7th palû against Ulluba. The pattern is interrupted with the revolt in the following year of Azriyau of Ya^cdi but resumes with an attack on the central Zagros followed by two frontal attacks on Urartu itself, the last of which brings Tiglath-pileser to the gates of Tushpa. With Urartian power temporarily diminished, Tiglath-pileser seems to have devoted the remainder of his reign to problems in Syro-Palestine and Babylonia. It is within this historical framework that we now turn to examine the two eastern campaigns mounted by Tiglath-pileser III in his 2nd and 8th palûs. In addition, there is evidence of two subsidiary campaigns in the central Zagros carried out by Assyrian governors, one in 738 B.C. and the other sometime between 737 B.C. and 727 B.C.

The 2nd Palû Campaign (744 B.C.)

In reconstructing the 2nd palû campaign, the earliest relevant recension of the annals, the Iran stele, prepared in the 9th palû, must take precedence over the Calah annals which are dated to the 17th palû.⁴ The relevant lines in the Iran stele are short enough to quote

in their entirety (St. IB.5-20)..

5 (In my second palû, to the lands of . . . Bit-S)ingibuti I
marched.

6 . . . Bit-Barrua

7 . . . with my . . .

8 (which Ashur) granted me . . . I smote. I despoiled them.

9 I placed my eunuch (as governor) over the land of Parsua

10 (and) my eunuch (as governor) over the land of Bit-Hamban.

I annexed those lands

11 to the border of Assyria. From Dalta of Ellipi,

12 the city-rulers of the land(s) of Namri, Singibute (and)

the Medes of all the eastern mountains,

13 - horses, mules broken to the yoke,

14 Bactrian camels, cattle and sheep without number I

received as tribute.

15 On my return, Iransu of Mannea

16 heard about the might and triumph which Ashur, my lord,

had manifested to all the city rulers of the mountain

lands.

17 Fear overcame him, and to Sukkia on the border of
Assyria

18 he came into my presence and kissed my feet. Horses -

sorrel beasts - . . . their body . . . together with their

trappings . . .

20 majestic bulls and (fatted) sheep . . . I received.⁵

Summarizing the information in the stele account of the 2nd
palû campaign, we can establish the following points. The campaign

was directed against a number of areas, including Singibuti, Bit Barrua, Parsua and Bit Hamban. The last two polities were annexed. In addition, during the course of the campaign, tribute was received from Namri, Ellipi, Singibuti, and the Medes. The fragmentary nature of the stele does not allow us to ascertain whether all these areas were penetrated. It is important to emphasize that the receipt of tribute from these areas signifies that they were definitely not annexed. As a consequence of this campaign, Iranzu of Mannea brought tribute to the border of Assyria. In order to gain additional understanding of the route and objectives of this campaign, we now turn to the longer, but somewhat later, account of the annals. Tadmor's new reconstruction and translation of the relevant portion of the annals is provided below in full.⁶

Annals 10:

- 7: . . . In my second regnal year, Ashur my lord [supported me (with an oracle) and I went to the lands of . . .]
- 8: Bit Zatti, Bit Abdadani, Bit Sangi [. . . but PN, King of GN]
- 9: beheld my expeditionary force, abandoned Nikur, his fortified city [. . .]
- 10: I rained [fire] upon them. The people of Nikkur feared/ beheld [my mighty] weapons [. . .]
- 11: his horses, his mules, [his] cattle [. . .]
- 12: The cities of Sassiashu, Tutashdi [. . .]

Annals 11:

- 1: . . .] Kushianash, Harshu, Shanashtiku, Kiskitara, Harshaya, Ayubak
- 2: . . .] they took to the region of Mount Halihadri, a high peak. I pursued them and defeated them.

- 3: . . . The people of GN . . . who] entered the ravines of the mountains I burnt with fire. I surrounded and captured the city of Ushari of Bit Zatti. Kaki,
- 4: King of . . .] I surrounded and captured the city Kitpattia of Bit Abdadani which Tunaku had seized. Its spoil
- 5: . . .] I rebuilt Nikur together with the towns of its environs. I settled therein the people of (foreign) lands, the conquest of my hands.
- 6: [My palace official as governor over them I placed. I overwhelmed Bit Kapsi, Bit Sangi, Bit Tazzakki like a (cast) net. Their heavy losses
- 7: . . . their . . .] I impaled. I cut off the hands of the rest of their warriors and I set them free in their own land.
- 8: . . .] their Bactrian camels, their cattle, their sheep, craftsmen without number, he took (= I took). Mitaki
- 9: . . .] entered the city of Urshanika. I captured the cities of Urshanika and Kianpal. Him, his wife, his sons, his daughters,
- 10: . . .] I destroyed and devastated those cities together with the towns of their environs. I burnt them with fire. Batānu, the king of the Bit Kapsi,
- 11: . . .] he submitted and became my vassal. So that his district should not be destroyed, I left him Karkarihundir.
- 12: . . .] I placed over him. I captured the city of Erianziašu which had revolted with Bisihadir of Kishesu

Annals 12:

- 1: and despoiled it. Ramateia of Arazî [. . .
- 2: he fled furtively and no-one saw [a trace of him . . .
- 3: horses, cattle, sheep, lapis lazuli, (a piece hewn from) the quarry [. . .
- 4: to the great gods, my lords, I sacrificed. Tuni of Sumurzû [. . .
- 5: I captured. I impaled his warriors [. . .
- 6: Sumurzû, Bit Hamban, I annexed to Assyria. People of [. . .
- 7: I settled therein. I placed my palace official over them as governor. [. . .

- 8: I dedicated to Ashur, my lord. The city of Kizauti which is in [. . .]
- 9: I destroyed and devastated. I burnt it with fire. With regard to the unsubmissive city rulers [. . .]
- 10: 300 talents of lapis lazuli, 500 talents of refined (?) copper [. . .]
- 11: the gift of Mannu-kima-šabê, the king of Bit Abdanani . . .
- 12: Miki of Halpi [. . .] , Uzakku of [. . .]

Annals 17:

- 1: . . .] people [I] dep[orted to Assyria . . .
- 2: . . . In] my third regnal year . . .

It is immediately clear from a comparison of the two accounts of the 2nd palû campaign that there are difficulties of reconciliation between them due to the numerous lacunae and the different nature of the inscriptions. In addition, neither source preserves a reference to Namri which the eponym chronicle establishes as a target for the campaign.⁷ Nor does the annalistic account preserve obvious references to Singibuti, Parsua or Bit Barrua, areas which are featured in the stele version of the campaign. Because of these uncertainties and discrepancies, we shall examine and compare both accounts in detail.

The Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser III refers to the conquest and annexation of Parsua in the course of the 2nd palû campaign. There is room for the restoration of Parsua as an objective of the campaign in the opening lines of the annalistic account.⁸ The same document, however, preserves no clear reference to the actual conquest of that area or to the conquest of localities which can be definitely associated with it. However, it has been suggested by Forrer that the city of Nikur/Nikkur, taken at the beginning of the campaign should be

identified as the capital of Parsua and that Tunaku was the Parsuan king.⁹

The issue is an old one but one new fragment of evidence from the recently discovered Najafehabad stele of Sargon II may be brought to bear on the problem.¹⁰ During his 16th palû campaign against Namri, Shalmaneser III captured a fortress which was called Niqu or Niquu of Tupliash (Tupliash), an area located in the greater Diyala region below the Jebel Hamrin.¹¹ There are no further references to such a toponym until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and the documents under scrutiny here. In the 2nd palû annals, a city of Nikur (Ann.10.9; 11.5), or the variant Nikkur (Ann.10.10), was attacked early in the campaign, rebuilt and resettled with deportees. The objectives of Tiglath-pileser's 9th palû campaign included Tupliash (Ann.14.6) and fairly late in the campaign account there is the mention of a city called Niquu (Ann.15.12). Unfortunately, the subsequent lines are missing and the city is not positively identified. However, in the summary inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, we are told that a city called Niqu of the land of Tupliash was conquered, rebuilt, resettled with deportees and annexed to Assyria.¹² Finally, in the Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser III, the Assyrian king reckons his eastern frontier as extending to kur Ni-qi ša kur 'Tup' - [li-āš . . .]¹³ It is tempting to identify the Nikur of the 2nd palû annals with the city of Niqu in Tupliash and declare the matter closed, but additional references suggest otherwise.

In the course of his 6th palû campaign, Sargon II first attacked Mannea, then moved southwards through Karalla to the city of Niquar and then onwards to Shurgadia, Hundir, Kishesa/Kishesim, Bit Sagabi(Bit Sagbat) and Harhar.¹⁴ This definitely establishes a city in

or very close to Parsua with a name which is fairly similar to that of the city of Tupliash. As noted above, Forrer had earlier argued that the capital of Parsua was called Nikur on the basis of a letter from the time of Esarhaddon. The letter, ABL 165, mentions both a city of Nikur and Parsua but as with many Neo-Assyrian letters, and particularly those employing indirect speech, the content is ambiguous and does not definitely establish a connection between the two toponyms. Much more important in this respect is ABL 556 which refers to Nikur in close association with Harhar.

What does emerge from this brief survey of the evidence is that whenever there is an unequivocal reference to the Tupliash toponym, it is always either Niqu or Niquu. On the other hand Niqqar or Nikur always occurs in contexts which closely connect it with the central Zagros. The Sargon II reference from the 6th palû definitely places Niqqar close to, if not actually in, Parsua. The circumstantial evidence of the other references from the 2nd palû of Tiglath-pileser III and the two letters, ABL 165 and 556, supports the contention that this Nikur/Niqqar was actually in Parsua.

The 2nd Palû Reconstructed

Resolving the doubt as to the identity and relative location of the Nikur mentioned by the annals allows us to proceed with a reconstruction of the course and events of the 2nd palû campaign. In the process, we can reconcile the two accounts at our disposal. Both accounts commence with a list of objectives (Stele IB 5-8; Ann.10.7-8) which included Singibuti, Bit Barrua, Bit Zatti, Bit Abdadani and Bit Sangi. It is likely that Parsua and Namri were also mentioned in this context.

The annals proceed to describe the conquest of Parsua and neighbouring districts (Ann.10.8-11.6) while the stele merely summarizes this by noting the conquest and stating that Parsua was annexed as a province (St. IB 9). Nikur, a city in Parsua, was taken and plundered. The campaign penetrated Gizilbunda at least as far as the city of Sassiashu.¹⁵ Other cities are mentioned but the polity or polities to which they belonged is unclear. Bit Zatti was conquered. The city of Kitpattia in Bit Abdadani was taken. Nikur was rebuilt, resettled with foreign deportees and a eunuch was placed there as governor of Parsua province.

The annals then go on to describe the conquest of a triad of polities, Bit Kapsi, Bit-Sangi and Bit Tazzakki (Ann.11.6-12), an episode that has been omitted from the abbreviated stele account. Bit Kapsi evidently was provincialized or incorporated into a province (Parsua?), given the fragmentary reference to the setting up of an official over Batanu, king of Bit Kapsi (Ann.11.12). The annals proceed with the attack on Arazi[ash], Erianziashu, and Kishesu. Horses, cattle, sheep and raw lapis lazuli were seized as plunder (Ann.11.12-12.4). This episode is also missing from the stele.

Ann.12.4-8 continue the campaign account with a brief description of the conquest of Sumurzu and Bit Hamban and their annexation. A governor was established over them and foreign deportees resettled there. This episode is mentioned in part by the stele where it notes the annexation of Bit Hamban (St. IB.10). The remainder of the annalistic account is rather unclear. Further conquests are noted with specific reference to a city called Kizauti and reference to unsubmissive city rulers (Ann.12.8-9). It is possible that this section deals

with Namri but the suggestion cannot be proven. There is no corresponding section in the stele. The annals close with the enumeration of gifts and the reference to various kings (Ann.12.10-17.1). The stele account closes with a description of tribute received from Dalta of Ellipi, and the city rulers of Namri, Singibuti, and the Medes (St. IB 11-14). The tribute of Iranzu of Mannea is a post-campaign event (St. IB.15-20) perhaps not recorded in the annals.

The two accounts therefore preserve the same progression of events. The campaign began in Parsua, penetrated Gizilbunda and neighbouring polities, moved southwards to Araziash and Kishesu, and then westwards to Sumurzu and Bit Hamban, a line of march that would have ended up in Namri. The route of access to Parsua is not given but since Namri must have come at the end of the campaign, it is likely that Parsua was approached from an alternative direction, perhaps via Allabria.

The 8th Palû: A Minor Campaign (738 B.C.)

A brief notice in the annalistic account of the 8th palû campaign against the Levant suggests some localized unrest in the Zagros in 738 B.C. The text is short enough to quote in its entirety but its fragmentary nature leave us uncertain about the nature of the conflict and the precise location of the action.

Ann.19.18: My eunuch, the governor of the land of Lullumi,
the city of Mulugani . . .

19: . . . which is behind the Fortress of the Babylonian,
together with the towns of their environs, he
defeated them . . .

13.1: . . . the spoil was brought before me to Hatti.

The key to making any sense of this passage is the epithet, the Fortress of the Babylonian. In the account of the 9th palû, the annals expressly state that the city of Silhazi in Media was called the Fortress of the Babylonian and while the locational information is vague, it evidently served as a refuge area for the people of Bit Sa[ngibuti?] also to be located in the central Zagros.¹⁶

Further evidence for military action in the Zagros at this time is also provided by the 8th palû annals in a statement that captive, Guti of Bit-Sangibuti were settled in various areas in the western empire.¹⁷ It is possible that these prisoners-of-war stemmed from the 2nd palû campaign during which Bit-Sangibuti was attacked and conquered and that they had been held in custody for the intervening six years. It is more likely, however, that their deportation to the west was a result of the subsidiary campaign conducted by the governor of Lullume in the neighbourhood of Silhazi.

The 9th Palû (737 B.C.)

The annals account of the 9th palû campaign is too long to quote in its entirety but the relevant portion of the stele has been appended to this discussion.¹⁸ The introduction to the campaign in the annals is complete and the list of target areas is as follows: Bit Kapsi, Bit Sangi, Bit Tazzakki, Media, Bit Zualzash, Bit Matti and Tupliash (Ann. 14.5-6). There follows a list of conquered cities (Ann.14.6-7), and a short account of the erection of an inscribed pointed iron arrowhead in front of the spring of Bit Ishtar (Ann.14.8-9). At this point in the narrative begins the record of the actual military accomplishments of the campaign with the defeat of Upash, son of Kapsi, who had fled into Mount Abirus (Ann.14.9-10).¹⁹ The account continues to describe the

conquest of Ushuru of [...]-ruta and Burdada of Nirutakta, along with the capture of the city of Sibur (Ann. 14.10-12).²⁰

The middle portion of the annals is very fragmentary from Ann. 14.12 through Ann. 15.5. The account picks up again with the defeat of Iautarru of the land of Amate, a district described as opposite the Rua mountains (Ann. 15.5-7) and continues with the conquest of Karzibra (Ann. 15.7.9).²¹ Ann. 15.9ff. describes the conquest of the people of Bit-Sa-[...] who evidently took refuge in the Fortress of the Babylonian, the city of Silhazi. The restoration of this fragmentary toponym is problematical as arguments can be advanced for either Bit Sagbat or Bit Sangibuti.²² A stele was set up in front of Silhazi and the campaign continued to Til-Ashuri where Tiglath-pileser offered sacrifices to Marduk "who dwells in Til-Ashuri." The town of Niquu is mentioned next but this last line of the slab is broken and we learn no further details (Ann. 15.11-12). Presumably, by this stage we are in Tupliash.

It is not clear that Annals 16 follows immediately on from the end of Annals 15. This 12-line slab seems to consist of a summary of the campaign in terms of cities conquered (Ann. 16.1-4), provinces re-established (Ann. 16.5-8), steles erected (Ann. 16.8-9) and tribute collected (Ann. 16.9-10). Ann. 16.11-12 which are heavily restored preserves fragments of a formulaic description of the homage paid by an unknown ruler.

The Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser III, left behind at the close of the 9th palu campaign, gives few details on the actual route of the campaign and most of it is taken up with a long list of vassals and the amount of their horse tribute. A new translation by Tadmor and Levine appears below.²³

- 25: In my ninth palu I ordered the march to Media.
- 26: Those city rulers who were unsubmitive, I conquered
their cities,
- 27: defeated them and took their spoil.
- 28: In [front] of Bit-Ishtar and Šibar, Mounts Ariarma
(and) Siḫazu,
- 29: mighty mountains, I placed my commemorative stele. But
from those who did submit, I received their tribute:
- 30: 130(+x) horses from Bit-Ishtar and its district I received,
- 31: 120 (horses) from Ginizinanu, Sadbat, Sisad-]. . .
- 32: 100 (horses) from Upash, son of Kapsi, 100 (horses)
from Ushru of Nikisi
- 33: 100 (horses) from Uksatar of Qarkinshera, 100 (horses)
from Taubitir of A-[mat]
- 34: 300 (horses) from Bardada of Šibar, 35 (horses) from
Amaku of Kit-ku-[. . .
- 35: 32 (horses) from Shataqupi of Uparia
- 36: 100 (horses) from Ramateia of Kazuqinzani
- 37: 100 (horses) from Metraku of Uparia
- 38: 200 (horses) from Shatašpa of Šapardi
- 39: 100 (horses) from Uitana of Mishita
- 40: 100 (horses) from Ametana of Uizak-[. . .
- 41: . . . from Shata]-parnu of Urbā-[. . .
- 42: . . .] -bā of Šikrā,
- 43: . . .] -ia of Zakrutī
- 44: traces.

It is difficult indeed to construct a connected, coherent account of the 9th palû campaign. Three main areas seem to stand out as objectives. The first of these can be approximately located east of Parsua, that is near Gizilbunda. Šibur was evidently at one stage a part of Gizilbunda and Bit Kapsi is described in such a way by Sargon II as to locate it in the same general area as Gizilbunda.²⁴ The repeated association of Bit Kapsi, Bit Sangi, and Bit Tazzakki as a triad in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser suggests strongly that we are dealing with three contiguous areas, and perhaps we should locate them all to the north-east and east of Parsua.²⁵ The second area is Media which the prologue to the 9th palû annals expressly states as a target. With this area, we may associate such toponyms as Silhazi, Uparia, Shaparda, Sikra, and Zakruti and the various Iranian personal names that appear in the stele account of the campaign. The third area comprises a Babylonian-influenced territory which was attacked towards the end of the campaign. Into this category we should place such toponyms as Til Ashuri which had a temple of Marduk, Tupliash and Sumurzu. Other lands and cities may also be included in this group. Bit Abdadani is suggested as a result of the Herzfeld "Freibrief" and also because of the Akkadian name of its ruler mentioned during the 2nd palû.²⁶ The city of Niqqu of Tupliash is another obvious candidate for inclusion. Bit Matti and Bit Zualzash are consecutively grouped with Niqqu of Tupliash in both the annals and the summaries and perhaps should also be considered for inclusion in this western area.²⁷

Ashur-da'inanni's Median Campaign

Ashur-da'inanni, the governor of Mazamua, is known to us as the eponym for the year 733 B.C.²⁸ From the summary inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, we learn that on the king's orders he conducted a campaign against Media, but few details are provided.

Summ. 3.13: I dispatched my eunuch, Ashur-da'inanni, against the mighty Medes

14: of the east. Five thousand horses, people, cattle,

15: and sheep without number he captured.²⁹

The date of the campaign is uncertain. The lack of any reference to the action in the 9th palû stele of Tiglath-pileser III suggests that it was not a subsidiary part of that campaign, nor did it pre-date it.

We may therefore establish a terminus post quem of 737 B.C. The summary inscriptions cannot be used to determine a terminus a quo and Ashur-da'inanni's campaign could have occurred at any point between 737 B.C. and the end of Tiglath-pileser's reign in 727 B.C.

No further action against the Zagros is known from the remainder of Tiglath-pileser III's reign, nor indeed from the short reign of Shalmaneser V, his successor. However, Assyrian activity in the Zagros mounts in intensity with the reign of Sargon II who campaigned there at least six times.

Shalmaneser V (726-722 B.C.)

Exclusively preoccupied with his western campaigns, Shalmaneser V provides us with no information on the east during his short reign. Whether it was Shalmaneser V or his successor, Sargon II, who took the city of Samaria is a debated issue, but the O.T. sources inform us that the Assyrian victor deported some of the vanquished to Media.³⁰

Sargon II (721-705 B.C.)

Insofar as the extant records allow us to judge, the relatively short reign of Sargon II was one during which imperial policies were vigorously pursued, particularly with respect to the east. At least six campaigns into western Iran were fielded between 719 B.C. and 708 B.C.³¹

Epigraphic sources for these campaigns include the Khorsabad annals, prisms from Ashur, Nimrud and Nineveh, the Letter to the god Ashur recounting the events of the 8th palû campaign, the royal correspondence, and references in the summary inscriptions.³² The recent discovery of a stele in central-west Iran, left there at the close of the 6th palû campaign, has added a new dimension to that action and, in doing so, has demonstrated yet again how laconic and extensively abridged the annals can be.³³

The 3rd Palû (719 B.C.)

The first action in the Zagros in Sargon's reign was the crushing of a rebellion in Mannea.³⁴ Two Mannean cities, Shuandahul and Durdukka, had openly opposed their overlord, Iranzu, and were being militarily assisted by Mitatti of Zikirtu. Sargon's response was to march to the cities, level their fortifications, burn the buildings, and deport the inhabitants. No confrontation with Zikirtu proper is recorded nor do the annals reveal the location in Mannea of the rebellious cities. Three other cities, Sukka, Bala, and Abitikna, which were allied with Rusa of Urartu, were also captured and the inhabitants deported. Additional references to these cities in other inscriptions do not help to establish their precise location.³⁵ Between this and the next Iranian campaign in 716 B.C., Iranzu of Mannea was

succeeded by his son, Aza.

To this year, 719 B.C., we should perhaps date the beginning of the revolt of the central Zagros city of Harhar. The stele account of the 6th palû campaign states that the people of Harhar had been in a state of rebellion and had withheld their tribute of horses for four years as of 716 B.C. Sargon was either unwilling or unable to deal with the revolt at the time.³⁶

The 6th Palû Campaign (716 B.C.)

The sequence of events in this campaign as narrated by the Khorsabad annals is a little perplexing and possibly indicates a conflated text.³⁷ To illustrate this more clearly, the sequence has been set out below in point form.

1. In Sargon's 6th palû Rusa of Urartu incites Bagdatti of Uishdish and Metatti of Zikirtu, two Mannean provincial governors, to revolt against Aza, the son and successor of Iranzu.
2. Aza is killed on Mount Uaush in Uishdish.³⁸
3. Sargon attacks Uishdish and flays Bagdatti on Mount Uaush.
4. Ullusunû, brother of Aza, is placed on the Mannean throne by Sargon.³⁹
5. Ullusunû allies himself with Rusa of Urartu and incites Ashur-li'û of Karalla and Itti of Allabria to revolt.⁴⁰
6. Sargon responds by invading all three polities. Ullusunû is forgiven and reinstated. Karalla is annexed.⁴¹
7. Remainder of the campaign against the central Zagros.

The sequence of events in the annals suggests two distinct military actions, perhaps in the same year, telescoped into one.⁴²

Sargon first attacks to put down the revolt in Mannea and places or confirms Ullusunū as king. The Assyrians withdraw but Ullusunū rebels, this time enlisting the aid of Karalla and Allabria. Sargon attacks again devastating the heartland of Mannea and capturing Izirtu, the capital, along with the cities of Zibie and Armaid. Following the defeat and pardoning of Ullusunū, Sargon dealt with the latter's co-conspirators, Itti of Allabria and Ashur-li'u of Karalla. The punishment included deportation of Allabrians and Karallans to the western provinces of the empire. One Bel-apla-iddina was placed in charge of Allabria while Karalla was incorporated into the province of Lullume.⁴³

The fullest account of the course of the 6th palū campaign following the conquest of Karalla and Allabria comes from the Najafehabad stele, which has the further advantage of being a document contemporary with the events it describes.⁴⁴ The stele preserves no explicit references to the conquest of Allabria because of a break in the text, but between the conquests of Karalla and Parsua there is reference to the imposition of increased feudal dues on a tributary. Following that, Sargon states that he departed from the city of Patta for Parsua and clearly Patta must be a variant of Pattira.⁴⁵ Niqqar in Parsua was the next stop in the stele account. The annals add the information that six cities of the land of Niksamma were captured and, along with the city of Shurgadia, were incorporated into the province of Parsua.⁴⁶

The next stop was the city of Hundir where Sargon received the tribute of Bel-shar-uṣur of Kishesa/Kishesim. The latter, despite his proffered tribute, was suspected of inciting revolt, and was consequently deported to Assyria. The city was renamed Kar-Ninurta, its territory was augmented by the addition of the conquered lands of Bit Sagbat,

Bit Hirmami, and Bit Umargi and the cities of Harhubarban, Kilambati, and Armangu. An Assyrian provincial governor was placed over the administration of the new province.⁴⁷

At this point Sargon introduces his casus belli for military action in the central Zagros. The people of Harhar had expelled their city-prefect, Kibaba, and in an act of rebellion, had attempted to ally themselves with Dalta of Ellipi against Assyria. The revolt was now four years old, during which the people of Harhar had withheld their annual tribute of horses and had strengthened the defences of their city. The Assyrian response was drastic; the inhabitants of Harhar were deported and the city resettled with foreign prisoners-of-war.⁴⁸

The most detailed account of the re-organization of the area around Harhar comes from the annals. Harhar itself was renamed Kar Sharrukin and a prefect (bēl paḥati) was installed. Six districts were added to his administrative care comprising the upper river of Aranzishu, the lower river of Bit Ramatua, and the lands of Uriqatu, Sikris, Shaparda, and Uriakku.⁴⁹ It is at this point that the annals account of the 6th palû draws to a close with the brief notation that Sargon received tribute from twenty-eight city-prefects of the land of the mighty Medes. The stele, in contrast, continues with an itinerary of march which carried Sargon deep into Median territory.

As has been pointed out above, the annals give the impression that the 6th palû stopped in the area around Harhar. Our perspective has been corrected by the stele account which adds a new geographical dimension to the campaign. Once again we are faced with the difficulty of perceiving the editorial policy of the annalist and until a much larger corpus of relevant material is available to the historian, we

can do little by way of explanation that does not smack of 'palaeopsychology'. It would be foolhardy to suggest that these eastern Median conquests were unimportant to Sargon; they were not important to the annalist in relative terms but the strategic and economic importance of this penetration cannot be judged on that basis one way or another.

It is also not possible to geographically define the route of the campaign from Harhar onwards in any precise way. We have argued elsewhere that the epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that Harhar was located somewhere close to the High Road in the Mahidasht (here understood to include the Kermanshah plain). The findspot of the stele probably provides a rough approximation of the terminus of the campaign. If this latter assumption be allowed for the sake of argument, then there is really only one viable route between those two geographical extremes, that is, following the High Road through the eastern Kermanshah plain, the Şahneh, Kangavar, and Assadabad valleys.

The 7th Palû (715 B.C.)

Widespread disturbances in the east compelled Sargon to return there in his 7th palû.⁵⁰ Rusa of Urartu had seized twenty-two fortresses from Ullusunu of Mannea and had also enticed one of the governors of Mannea, Daiakku, to revolt against his overlord.⁵¹ Further south, the newly-formed province around Harhar had risen in rebellion. To add to Sargon's problems, trouble had flared up in Que and Mushki and a campaign was also necessary against the Arabs of the western deserts.

The campaign evidently began with the re-capture of the fortresses seized by Urartu and their annexation to Assyria. Daiakku, the Mannean governor, was deported, and the disturbed Manneans were reorganized.

Tribute was received from Janzu of Hubushkia in his capital city. An additional nine fortresses of five Urartian provinces were captured and eight fortresses of Tuaiadi, a district in Andia. After recording his victories on a stele set up in Izirtu, the Mannean capital, Sargon turned his attention to the central Zagros and Harhar.

The province around Harhar had fragmented in revolt. Uriakku, Sikris, Shaparda, Uparya, and Bit Sangibuti had allied themselves with the Upper and Lower River districts against the Assyrian governor. Sargon defeated them and renamed several of the conquered cities.⁵² The defences of Kar-Sharrukin (Harhar) were strengthened "to subdue the land of the Medes." The brief reference to receiving tribute from twenty-two city prefects of the Medes recalls the similar reference terminating the account of the 6th palû. Since we know from the Najafehabad stele that this latter statement concealed an extension of the campaign to the east through Median areas, it may be argued that a similar expedition into Median territory took place towards the end of the 7th palû. On the return march to Assyria, Sargon evidently exited from the Zagros through Bit Hamban where he took the city of Kimirra, deporting 2,500 of its inhabitants.⁵³ In short, we probably have a campaign which was every bit as extensive as the one of the previous year.

The 8th Palû (714 B.C.)

Pre-eminent among the sources for the 8th palû is Sargon's Letter to the god Ashur. In contemporaneity and detail, this document supercedes any of the other later and shorter accounts.⁵⁴ To a considerable degree, the scope and objectives of the eighth campaign reflect the overall priorities of Assyrian policy in the Zagros. It

is necessary therefore to examine this campaign in some detail although this does not profess to be an exhaustive treatment.

Beginning in Tammuz (June/July), the general route followed took the Assyrians from Nimrud across the Upper and Lower Zab rivers and through the passes of Mount Kullar to Sumbi, a district of Zamua. In Sumbi, a military review was held before the army embarked on the next leg of the campaign. This second portion took them through extremely difficult mountainous terrain to Surikash, a district of Mannea, which, we are told, bordered on both Karalla and Allabria. Here, in the Mannean border fortress of Sinihinu, Sargon was greeted by Ullusunū bearing tribute. The march continued to the fortress of Latashe in Allabria where Sargon received the tribute of Bel-apla-iddina of Allabria. The next stage took the Assyrian army into Parsua, where Sargon received tribute from vassals of Namri, Sangibutu, Bit Abdadani, and the land of the mighty Medes (TCL III:39). Tribute consisting of horses, mules, camels, cattle and sheep was provided by Dalta of Ellipi and twenty-six Median leaders, who are specifically named along with their city or land.⁵⁵

From Parsua the Assyrians moved on to Missi where Ullusunū awaited them in the fortress of Sirdakka. There the Mannean king had amassed gifts and provisions. Ullusunū and his nobles made entreaties to Sargon that he might avenge them, defeat Ruša in open battle, repulse the people of the land of Kakme from Mannea, and restore the scattered Manneans to their homes.⁵⁶ While in Missi, two city chiefs of Gizilbunda, Zizi of Appatar and Zalaya of Kitpatai, brought tribute to Sargon who placed their cities under the control of the Assyrian governor of the province of Parsua.

Departing from Ziridiakka (variant of Sirdakka?) Sargon marched thirty bēru between Mannea, Bit Kabsi, and the land of the powerful Medes to Panzish, a great fortress built upstream from the lands of Zikirtu and Andia.⁵⁷ The ramparts of the fortress were strengthened and food, oil, wine, and war equipment were stored up inside.

Leaving Panzish, the army crossed the river Ishtar-aura into Aukane, a province of Zikirtu. Receiving advance warning of the Assyrian approach, Metatti of Zikirtu, abandoned his royal city, Parda, to its fate and retreated.⁵⁸ Zikirtian troops guarding the passes of Mt. Uashdirikka were defeated and thirteen cities were captured along with eighty-four villages. These settlements were systematically destroyed. From Aukane, Sargon moved to Uishdish where Rusa of Urartu and Metatti of Zikirtu stood ready with their combined forces on Mt. Uaush to block the Assyrian advance. We are provided with a detailed description of the battle which Sargon seems to have won by a precipitate cavalry charge. The routed Urartian/Zikirtian coalition was pursued over six bēru from Mt. Uaush as far as Mt. Zimur.

At this point, the course of the campaign is changed. Sargon explicitly states that he stopped his march on Zikirtu and Andia which lay before him and set his face toward Urartu. The next stage in the campaign, following the total subjugation of Uishdish, carries him into Urartu proper. This area was gained via the fortress of Ushkaia which is specifically stated to be on the outer frontier of Urartu and situated on Mount Mallau, the cypress mountain, guarding the pass into the district of Zaranda. Part of this southern Urartian province, the Urartians themselves recognized as formerly Mannean, under the name of Subi.⁵⁹ Two cities, Ushkaia and Aniashtania, along with 132 villages

of the region were taken. At this point the Assyrians begin to implement a systematic policy of destroying the agricultural potential of the regions they conquer.

From the plain of Zaranda the Assyrians moved to the land of Baru, also called Sangibutu.⁶⁰ Here the looting and destruction of the land continued. Four great cities, Tarui, Tarmakisa, Ulhu, and Shardurihurda were taken and plundered along with a total of eighty-seven villages. Baru/Sangibutu seems a diverse region from the Assyrian description. A plain of Dalaia is mentioned from whence the people of Tarui and Tarmakisa fled to an arid region like a desert. Ulhu was situated on an irrigated plain at the foot of Mt. Kishpal and Shardurihurda was located on Mt. Kishte. Sargon notes that the province of Sangibutu was the home of the temple on which former Urartian kings had lavished wealth from early days.

From Ulhu the Assyrians struck out at another twenty-one cities of Sangibutu and an additional 146 villages. Economic destruction reached new proportions; not content with simply cutting-down the orchards and forests of the Urartians, Sargon ordered the tree-trunks gathered together and set on fire. This policy was extended to each Urartian province in turn. Stores of food, oil, and wine were eaten there and then by the army and the remainder loaded on horses, mules, camels, and asses in order to transport them away. Wooden beams were looted from buildings and carried off. Fields full of crops were ploughed under by the chariots and irrigation projects and canals were blocked and destroyed. In doing this, Sargon was striking at the entire economic base of the region, ensuring that it would be crippled for years to come.

The army moved on to Armarili. Seven cities and thirty villages at the foot of Mt. Ubianda were totally destroyed. During the march, Sargon came to the city of Arbu, described as the city of the house of Rusa's father, and Riar, the city of Ishtar-duri, son of Ishpuini. An additional seven cities in which the relatives of Rusa lived were destroyed. The temple of Haldia was set on fire.

From Armarili, the Assyrians crossed Mt. Uizuku, a mountain of breccia, to the land of Aiadi. Here thirty strong cities which lined the shore of "the wavy sea" were captured along with eighty-seven villages. From Aiadi Sargon moved across three rivers and entered the district of Uaiais described as Rusa's "mainstay on the lower border of Urartu and on the Nairi frontier."⁶¹ The great fortress of Uaiais, in which the district governors had taken refuge, was captured along with five other walled cities and forty villages. Departing Uaiais, Sargon finally moved into friendly territory, the state of Hubushkia.

Janzu of Hubushkia greeted the Assyrian king with alacrity and paid tribute to him in his capital. Urzana of Musasir chose this moment to demonstrate defiance and withhold tribute and, as a consequence, Sargon marched to Musasir and plundered the city. To get to Musasir from Hubushkia, Sargon notes that he took a difficult route across mighty Mt. Arsiu, over the Lower Zab and through the Sheiak, Ardikshi, Ulaiau, and Alluriu mountains. The prize was a rich one as the lengthy catalogue of plundered goods attests.

The Route of the 8th Palu Campaign

To this point I have refrained from attempting to reconstruct the route of the 8th palu campaign in real geographical terms. A critical examination of previous research on this problem and a

detailed reconstruction would necessitate a lengthy digression on issues that are not central to the present work. Consequently, I will briefly summarize proposals advanced by earlier scholars to demonstrate the reasons for adopting a much modified view recently advanced by Levine.⁶²

There has long been a consensus of scholarly opinion that the basic route of the 8th palu campaign took Sargon from central-west Iran north via the east side of Lake Urmia, then swinging to the north-west across to Lake Van, the "sea" mentioned in the letter to Ashur. From there the route went north around the top of Van, returning via the west coast of the lake to Hubushkia which was thought to be located in the Bohtan Su Valley.⁶³

The common assumption of all such reconstruction was that a sea ringed with Urartian cities had to be Lake Van. Consequently, the route given by Sargon and its various stages had to be stretched to fit this scheme. That Sargon had marched around Lake Urmia without mentioning it was recognized as a problem, particularly in a source that carefully documented so many other natural landmarks. That the distance covered in the march would have taxed any army beyond reason and that there was no reference to the Urartian capital were also seen as stumbling blocks to such a scheme.⁶⁴ All of the scholars who attempted to justify such a route operated with locations for Parsua and Hubushkia that are no longer tenable. With a single exception, there was no first-hand knowledge of the terrain covered by the route and expectations of the capabilities of the Assyrian army were unreasonable.⁶⁵ The crux of the issue was the identification of the "sea."

Recently, largely due to archaeological excavation and survey work in Azerbaijan, the necessity of identifying the "sea" with Lake Van has been undercut. As little as a decade ago no one could have known that the Urartian penetration of north-western Iran was as extensive and as consolidated as has been demonstrated.⁶⁶ The result of this research is that we now have another "sea" with Urartian fortresses on its shore, namely Lake Urmia. On this basis alone, the question of the sea's identification might remain open with Van as likely as Urmia.

Levine's careful study of the route of the eighth campaign has undoubtedly settled the question of the identification of the "sea." Building on his revised historical geography of the Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian period, he has conclusively demonstrated that Lake Urmia is the only possible candidate.⁶⁷ Arguments may be advanced for either an east coast or west coast route. Resolution of this problem is tangential to the present work and judgment is therefore reserved. What emerges clearly from Levine's reconstruction of the route of the campaign is that the action against the Urartian provinces can be limited to the southern part of modern Azerbaijan.

This digression into the route of the 8th palû campaign can be justified for its importance in establishing the overall objectives of Sargon's policy in the Zagros. The earlier view that the intent of the campaign was the destruction of the centre of Urartu via a flanking attack from Mannea must be abandoned. Sargon was either unwilling or unable, even after a major victory over the Urartian-Zikirtian coalition, to effect such an action. The aims of the 8th palû campaign were twofold, first to consolidate Mannea as a bulwark against further Urartian encroachment in the northern Zagros and, secondly, to

systematically destroy the economic base of the Urartian provinces in Azerbaijan.

The 9th Palû Campaign (713 B.C.)

The reconstruction of the 9th palû campaign is complicated by the fragmentary nature of the sources. The annals begin the campaign account with the notation, "In the ninth year of my reign to the land of Ellipi, the land of the Medes, and the land of Karalla, I marched."⁶⁸ In fact, we know from the reconstruction of eponym chronicle C^{b4} that Sargon stayed in Assyria that year (713 B.C.) and that it was his officials who conducted the campaign in the field.⁶⁹

The immediate cause of the campaign is given as a popular insurrection in Karalla where the Assyrian functionaries installed following the 6th palû, had been expelled. The revolutionaries were led by one Amitashi, brother of the former king, Ashur-le'û, whom Sargon had executed. The annals tell us that a battle was fought on Mt. Ana and the Karallans were put to flight. Amitashi and his allies were pursued into the mountains of Shurda where they were finally defeated.⁷⁰

From the restored Nineveh prism, we learn that Amitashi was given refuge by Ada of the land of Shurda.⁷¹ The prism claims that Ada spoke untruths, presumably about the presence of the refugee, and was consequently massacred along with his men. In a particularly gruesome finale the prism continues: "A and B, the two sons whom he [i.e. Ada] had begotten, I skinned alive and boiled their bodies together with the fat of Amitashi."⁷²

The annals of the Botta slab as restored by Olmstead describe the re-establishment of Assyrian provincial rule over the men of Allabria and the land(?) of Mapatira.⁷³ Where the Khorsabad annals are complete enough again to read a connected narrative, we find ourselves at the end of the campaign against Ellipi (ll. 183ff): Dalta has been restored to his kingdom. Fragmentary references from the Botta slab mention one Azuktu of the city of Hubahna, twenty-four conquered cities, the capture of Azuktu(?), and animals taken as booty. For a clearer understanding of these events we must turn to the prism inscriptions.

Evidently there has been a popular insurrection in Ellipi against Dalta. The Nimrud prism D adds a little to our knowledge with the notice that five of Dalta's provinces rebelled against him and withheld tribute. It states that 33,600 people were deported from Ellipi to Assyria, perhaps an inflated figure.⁷⁴ A fuller and more coherent account, although still far from complete, can be put together from the fragments of the Nineveh prism as reconstructed by Tadmor. Following the defeat of Amitashi, Ullusunu of Mannea travelled to Laruete, a district in Allabria, to give tribute to Sargon, just as he had done during the 8th palû campaign. The prism then describes the situation in Ellipi. Depicting Dalta as a submissive slave who drew the yoke of Ashur, the prism adds that the gods were angry at Dalta for "ruining his land and diminishing his people." As a consequence, the whole of his land rebelled against him.⁷⁵

The next fragment of the Nineveh prism is too broken for any connected narrative but it seems to concern refugees (Dalta and family?) from Ellipi. The campaign against Ellipi seems to have ended in great

bloodshed, the capture of many rebels, and the pacification of the country. From this point the Nineveh prism moves on to a list of tributaries from central Zagros cities and the entire expedition comes to a close.⁷⁶

The Nineveh prism seems to have omitted details of the campaign against Media which appears in the annals, following the pacification of Ellipi. We are specifically told that:

- 184: . . . Ba'it-ili, a province in the land of the Medes,
on the border of the land of Ellipi,
185: Absahutti, Parnuatti, Utirna, and the city of Diristanu
186: in the land of Uriakki, Rimanuti, a province in the land
of Uppuria,
187: Uiadaue, Bustis, Agazi, Ambanda and Dananu,
188: far-off territories on the border of the Arabs of the
rising sun and the territories
189: of the land of the mighty Medes who had thrown off.
the yoke of Aššur, and who roved the mountains and desert
190: like thieves . . . into all their cities I threw fire-
brands, and all their provinces
191: I turned into forgotten mounds.

The annals conclude with the listing of tribute from Ullusunu of Mannā, Dalta of Ellipi, Bel-apla-iddina of Allabria, and from forty-five city-prefects of the mighty Medes--4,609 horses, mules, oxen, and small cattle.⁷⁷ Finally, it should be emphasized that with respect to the revolt in Ellipi, the blame is laid at the doorstep of the faithful, but evidently incompetent, Dalta. The Medes or Elamites are not implicated in any way.

The Ellipian Succession

The historical section of the annals comes to an end in Sargon's 14th palû (708 B.C.) with an account of the death of Dalta of Ellipi and the struggle between his sons, Ispabara and Nibe, for the throne. While the former was supported by Assyria, the latter received 4,500 bowmen from Shutur-Nahunte of Elam.⁷⁸

The Elamite-Ellipian coalition was no match for the combined forces of the seven governors whom Sargon despatched to aid Ispabara and his troops.⁷⁹ Ellipi was pacified and placed under Ispabara's control. The war of succession is also important as an indication of deteriorating relationships between Assyria and Elam, a conflict that would continue to mount in intensity over the following half-century. This is the only occasion on which Elamite troops confronted Assyrians in the central Zagros.

It is not necessary to suppose that Elam's intervention in this conflict was because Elamite interests were directly threatened. An Assyrian puppet on the throne of Ellipi would merely have continued the status quo. Their intervention is probably better understood as opportunism, a chance to cause the maximum amount of trouble for Assyria with a minimum of cost to Elam itself. The stability of the situation in the central Zagros following the war of succession is difficult to assess in view of the paucity of documentation but at least two letters of the Sargonid royal correspondence which must be dated to this approximate time period speak of unrest in Ellipi and among the Medes.⁸⁰

The 17th Palû Campaign (705 B.C.)

Evidently Sargon met his death on campaign, his headquarters being overrun by an unknown enemy. Our only information on the matter

is fragmentary and does not establish the location of this defeat. All that is preserved of the Babylonian Chronicle entry for year 17 is the notation that a campaign was launched against Tabal. In the Eponym Chronicle, C^b6, the appropriate entry connects one Eshpai the Kulummaean with the death of the king. As a central Zagros city called Kuluman is known from a number of letters, there is the possibility that the event took place during a campaign to that area, rather than in Tabal. The issue cannot be resolved at present.⁸¹

Urartu in the Late Eighth Century B.C.

Whether or not Rusa committed suicide after his defeat by Sargon as the Assyrian annals claim cannot be confirmed. It appears, however, that Argishti II Rusahini did indeed ascend the Urartian throne not long after the 8th palu campaign. We know very little of his reign. Few of his inscriptions have been found and those known are devoid of historical content. He is never unequivocally mentioned in the Assyrian sources with one exception.⁸²

Two rock inscriptions belonging to Argishti II on the southern slopes of the Kuh-i-Savelan east of Lake Urmia establish minimal limits for Urartian control of this area.⁸³ It is not known to what extent, if at all, Argishti and his successors regained control of territories lost in Sargon's 8th palu campaign. Apart from the catastrophe of the 8th palu campaign, a variety of other problems beset Urartu in the late eighth century including attempted regicide⁸⁴ and a major military setback fighting the Cimmerians.⁸⁵ While Urartian activities were monitored carefully and, on occasion, the Assyrian correspondents evince some degree of discomfort at Urartian troop movements, there is

little evidence in the royal correspondence for open conflict between Assyria and her northern neighbour.⁸⁶

Assyrian Revanchism in the Zagros (745-705 B.C.)

In the forty-year period covering the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II we can discern widespread changes and gains for Assyria both on an internal and international level. The systematic effects of the political reforms instituted by Tiglath-pileser III within Assyria have never been adequately investigated, but there can be little doubt that they resolved at least some of the contradictions in the Assyrian power structure and established a new basis for another period of successful imperialism.

The leitmotif of the period is the resolution of the "Urartian question," beginning with the patterned attacks of Tiglath-pileser III and culminating in the systematic destruction of the economic basis of Urartian power in Azerbaijan by Sargon II. Urartu was never again to pose a serious threat to Assyrian supremacy and the seventh century B.C. was a time of relatively cordial relationships between the two powers and occasional diplomatic consultation.

The reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II also saw the re-imposition and consolidation of Assyrian rule in the central and northern Zagros by various means. Chief among these was the extension of the provincial system to include new areas such as Sumurzu, Bit Hamban, Parsua, Karalla, and the provinces formed around the cities of Kishesim (Kar Ninurta) and Harhar (Kar Sharrukin). Rebellious inhabitants of these areas were deported and prisoners-of-war from as far away as Samaria were resettled there, presumably as stabilizing units

beholden to the Assyrians for their existence.

To what extent these centres were garrisoned with Assyrian troops is not clear. For the protection of the Assyrian governors and the administration of the provinces, there must have been some detachments of the Assyrian army assigned to duty in the central Zagros but there is no indication in the epigraphic sources of the numbers of men involved. Various strands of evidence suggest that the practice of establishing kāru cities with Assyrian names had an economic motivation but this problem is best deferred until chapter 10 where the overall objectives of Neo-Assyrian imperialism in the Zagros are reviewed.

Garrisons were also established in Mannea by Sargon II to protect the frontiers of that country and considerable efforts were made to shore up the indigenous kingdoms of both Mannea and Ellipi by coming to their aid in times of internal revolt and dynastic crisis. By the close of this forty-year period, challenges in the northern and central Zagros from Urartu and Elam respectively had been successfully resisted and Assyrian power in the eastern mountains was no longer contested by outside forces. This was Sennacherib's inheritance; the problem was now one of maintaining this situation in face of increasing internal pressures within the Zagros.

Endnotes to Chapter 4

1. Brinkman dates Tiglath-pileser's first regnal year to 744 B.C. J.A. Brinkman, "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," Appendix to A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 347. Tadmor begins Tiglath-pileser's first regnal year in 745 B.C. in the eponym year of Nabu-bela-ušur and then counts off nineteen years, the last one being in the eponym year of Bel-harran-bela-ušur, 727 B.C. This places the 9th palû campaign against Media in 737 B.C. and the reference in the stele from this campaign to Menahem of Samaria presents no chronological problem as it would if it were dated a year later; H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria" (unpub. MS., n.d.), pp. 194ff; hereafter, Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III." The work is to be published shortly by the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities, Jerusalem. Since the MS pages will not correspond to the published version, I have adopted the policy of referring to the individual texts according to Tadmor's system of genre, number of text, and line. Hence, the following abbreviations will be used: Ann. (annals); Summ. (summary inscriptions); and St. (stele). On points of argumentation, references to the MS pages have been supplied.
2. For the Mila Mergi inscription, see N. Postgate, "The Inscription of Tiglath-pileser III at Mila Mergi," Sumer, 29 (1973), pp. 47-59, and Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," pp. 250-260. For the Iran stele, see Levine, TNAS, pp. 11-24 for the upper fragment. The lower fragment was published by P. Herrero, "Un fragment de stèle néo-assyrienne provenant d'Iran," DAFI, 3 (1973), pp. 105-113. An additional fragment in a Tehran private collection has been added to the first two; see H. Tadmor and L.D. Levine, "The Recension of the 9th palû: The Stele from Iran," in H. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," pp. 194-249. My thanks to Profs. Tadmor and Levine for permission to use this MS.
3. For the relevant eponym list, C^b1, see RLA, 2 (1938), pp. 785-786.
4. The earliest known recension of the annals, the Mila Mergi relief, dating to the 7th palû deals only with the campaign of that year against Ulluba; for references, see n. 2 above.
5. St. IB, lines 5-20; see Tadmor and Levine, in Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," p. 232.
6. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," pp. 52ff. annals 10, lines 7-12; 11, lines 1-12; 12, lines 1-12; 17, lines 1-2.
7. Eponym chronicle C^b1, RLA, 2 (1938), p. 430, rev. 29.

8. The original dimensions of the Iran stele are uncertain and the number of signs lost is difficult to estimate. Annals 10 are part of the twelve-line series B inscriptions with an average of forty signs per line; Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," p. 52. The second palû account begins in Ann.10.7. Seven signs relating to the end of the 1st palû come first and are followed by nine signs introducing the 2nd palû:

(7 signs) + ina 2 palê^{meš}-ia Aš-šur bēli¹-[ia . . .

Using the average length determined above, we can presume that approximately 24 signs are missing (7+9+24=40). If the introduction to the 2nd palû campaign follows the standard phraseology we would expect approximately another eight signs before the list of conquered lands begins: e.g.

(7 signs) + ina 2 palê^{meš}-ia Aš-šur bēli-ia (u-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na) list of lands.

Ann.10.8 begins: kur Bīt-Za-at-ti kur Bīt-Ab-da-da-ni kur Bīt-Sa-an-gi . . . Thus between the kur Bīt Zatti of 10.8 and the a-na of 10.7 there would be space for approximately sixteen signs (7+9+8+16=40). kur Nam-ri kur Si-in-gi-bu-ti kur Pa-ar-su-a equals fourteen signs which would fit the gap fairly neatly. Additional toponyms may have followed Bit Sangi in Ann. 10.8.

9. E. Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920), p. 90..
10. For brief discussion of the problem, see Brinkman, PKB, p. 232 and references to earlier discussion in n. 1468. For the Najafehabad stele, see n. 14 below.
11. ARAB, I, par. 637. On the location of Tupliash, see Brinkman, PKB, p. 200, n. 1227 and Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 23.
12. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," summary inscriptions 1.17 and 7.35.
13. Tadmor and Levine, in Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," stele IIB.3.
14. Levine, TNAS, p. 38, ll. 31ff. Shurgadia was incorporated into the province of Parsua; ARAB, II, par. 10.
15. Sassiashu (Ann.10.12) was a city in Gizilbunda mentioned by Shamshi-Adad V in his 9th palû campaign; ARAB, I, par. 719.
16. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," Ann.15.11 and see also St. IIB, 1.28 for the location of Šilhazi in Media.

On Bit-Sangibuti, see the discussion by Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, pp. 142-143.
17. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," Ann.13.5-9.

18. For the annals, see Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," Ann.14.5-12; 15.1-12; 16.1-12. The extant portion of the stele is a list of tributaries and not necessarily of areas in which the Assyrian army actually campaigned. We should not expect, therefore, exact congruence between the toponym appearing in the two sources.
19. Bit Ishtar is listed among the (Median?) vassals who brought tribute to Sargon II in Parsua during the 8th palû campaign; TCL III, 1. 46. Its king, Bûrburazu, may be the Burbuasu of Urattus/Uratus of Sargon II's 6th palû stele; see Levine, TNAS, p. 44, 11. 68-69 and p. 50. Upash appears in the Tiglath-pileser III Iran stele as one who gave one hundred horses in tribute; St. IIB, 1. 32. For Mt. Abirus, cf. Mt. Ab-ra-û[. . .], a mountain of refuge in the land of Sikris mentioned during Sargon II's 6th palû campaign; Levine, TNAS, p. 40, 1. 49.
20. For Ushuru of [. . .]ruta and Burdada of Nirutakta, cf. Ushru of Nikisi and Bardada of Şibar in the Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser III; St. IIB, 1. 32 and 1. 34. According to Shamshi-Adad V, Şibar was a city in Gizilbunda; ARAB, I, par. 719. Sargon II received tribute from the city while in Parsua; TCL III, 1. 48. There seems little doubt that Şibur and Şibar are the same city in which case, this portion of the 9th palû campaign took place in Gizilbunda although that toponym is not specifically mentioned.
21. For Iautarru of Amate, cf. Iaubitir of A[mat] in the Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser III; St. IIB, 1.33.
22. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," p. 83, 1. 130 restores Bit-Sa-[an-gi-bu-ti] without explanation but presumably on the basis of the connection between the Fortress of the Babylonian and the deported Sangibutians mentioned during the 8th palû; see above and Ann.19.18f. and Ann.13.5-9. The reading Bit Sa-an-gi-bu-ti, is attested in Summ.7.29 and 34. On the other hand Summ.7.31 gives us a sequence of Karzibra, Gukinana, Bit Sagbat, and Silhazi which, with the omission of Gukinana, may correspond to the order of the 9th palû campaign. The logic behind the specific compilation and sequence of the summary inscriptions is not clear and one cannot therefore restore Bit Sa-ag-ba-at with any certainty.
23. Tadmor and Levine, in Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," St. IIB.25-44.
24. ARAB, II, par. 150.
25. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," Ann.14.5; Summ.7.30 and 35.
26. E. Herzfeld, "Bronzener 'Freibrief' eines König von Abdadana," AMl, 9 (1938), pp. 159-177. For the 2nd palû reference, see Ann. 12.11 above.
27. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," Summ.1.17; 2.19; 3.5; 7.29.
28. RLA, 2 (1938), p. 424, C^a1, 1. 36.

29. Tadmor, "Tiglath-pileser III," *Summ.* 3.13-15; 7.42.
30. II Kings, 17.6.
31. For a discussion of the chronological problems of Sargon II's reign, see H. Tadmor, "The campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: a chronological-historical study," *JCS*, 12 (1958), pp. 22-40, 77-100, and M. Ford, "The contradictory records of Sargon II of Assyria and the meaning of palû," *JCS*, 22 (1968), pp. 83-84. The Khorsabad dating for the annals has been followed here.
32. For the annals, see A.G. Lie, The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria, Part I, The Annals (Paris: Geuthner, 1929), hereafter, Lie, Sargon II; ARAB, II, pars. 4-51; and A.T.E. Olmstead, "The text of Sargon's annals," *AJSL*, 47 (1930), pp. 259-280. The Nineveh prism was first published by H. Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1889), pls. 44-46 and, most recently, by H. Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 (1958), pp. 22-40 and 77-100. Winckler argued that the various fragments belonged to two different prisms which he dubbed A and B. Weidner suggested that all the fragments belonged to the same prism; E. Weidner, "Šilkan(he)ni, König von Musri, ein Zeitgenosse Sargons II . . .," *AfO*, 14 (1941-44), p. 51. Gadd defends the separate identity of the A and B prisms; C.J. Gadd, "Inscribed prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud," *Iraq*, 16 (1954), pp. 173ff. Tadmor argues again for the one octagonal prism after an examination of the fragments in the British Museum. On this basis, he has proposed a join between the major fragments of A and B which throws new light on the 9th palû campaign against Karalla and his revised arrangement is followed here; Tadmor, *JCS*, 12 (1958), pp. 88ff. The Ashur prism was published by Weidner, *AfO*, 14 (1941-44), pp. 40ff. For the Nimrud prism, see Gadd, *Iraq*, 16 (1954), pp. 172ff. The Ashur prism (C) and Nineveh prism (A+B) are written in annalistic style with each section numbered by a palû unlike the Nimrud prisms (D and E) where the chronological sequence is disregarded in favour of a general geographical order. For the 8th palû letter to the god, Ashur, see *TCL* III, 11. 1ff.; and ARAB, II, pars. 139-178. For the Sargonid royal correspondence, see R.F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, I-XIV (London, 1892-1914), hereafter ABL; L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire, I-IV (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1930-36), hereafter RCAE; R.H. Pfeiffer, State Letters of Assyria (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1935), hereafter SLA. More recent publications of new material will be referred to whenever appropriate.
33. Levine, *TNAS*, pp. 25ff.
34. Lie, Sargon II, pp. 8-11, 11. 58-68; ARAB, II, par. 6; *TNAS*, pp. 34-37, col. II, 11. 13-16.
35. ARAB, II, pars. 6, 9, 56, 118.

36. TNAS, p. 38, ll. 41ff. The Mannean insurrection of 719 B.C. perhaps encouraged the people of Harhar to also rise in revolt.
37. Lie, Sargon II, p. 12, ll. 78 ff. The introduction to the 6th palû campaign in the Najafehabad stele is fragmentary but enough remains to show that the original account made no mention of the revolt of Bagdatti and Metatti and the death of Aza. It would seem that the stele version begins with the defection of Ullusunû and Sargon's attack on Mannea, Karalla and Allabria. See TNAS, p. 36, ll. 23ff.
38. That Mt. Uaush lay in Uishdish is clearly established by TCL III, ll. 91ff.
39. According to the Display Inscription, the rebels placed Ullusunû on the throne initially; ARAB, II, par. 56.
40. ABL 1058 pertains to this context. An unknown writer reports to Sargon that one Ashur-li' has gone to Ullusunû and that the latter has given him five horses. The gift has been described in a letter by Nabu-hamatua which the letter is forwarding to the king; see SLA, no. 209 and RCAE, no. 1058. Ashur-li'û's name occurs in the form above in the Nineveh prism; see ARAB, II, par. 202. Nabu-hamatua appears in other letters (ABL, 208, 311 for example) as a functionary of Shar-emuranni, the governor of Mazamua; into whose province Karalla was incorporated after the 6th palû campaign. There can be little doubt as to the circumstances of the letter and since the reigns of Ullusunû and Ashur-li'û coincided only in 716 B.C., the letter can be firmly dated to that year.
41. The fate of Karalla and Allabria cannot be determined from the annals where there is a lacuna at this point in the text. Other sources supply the information; see below, n. 43.
42. Whether there were two separate campaigns or not is of little importance to this study so the point has not been exhaustively argued out.
43. The information on the fate of Karalla and Allabria is supplied by the prism fragment VA 8424 and by the Najafehabad stele; see Weidner, AFO, 14 (1941-44), p. 41. 11ff and TNAS, p. 38.32. In the prism fragment Itti is called the ruler of the city of Pattir(r)a, evidently the capital of Allabria; see above, p. 43 and n. 34. Karalla was annexed and Assur-li'û was flayed. Itti was deported to Hamath but Allabria retained its tributary status. See Lie, Sargon II, p. 14.89-90 and Olmstead, AJSL, 47 (1930), p. 265.
44. This stele was discovered in 1965 by T. Cuyler Young, Jr. and Louis D. Levine at the village of Najafehabad in the Assadabad Valley, about 15 kms. north-east of Kangavar. While the local villagers had not moved the stele from its find spot, it was not possible to relate it to the stratigraphy of the site. The

fact that no Iron Age pottery could be found on the site despite considerable excavation by local inhabitants suggests that Najafehabad was not the original place where the stele was erected. On the other hand, the considerable weight of the stele, about two tons, precludes its having been moved very far. See Levine, TNAS, pp. 25ff. The two sources, the annals and the stele, stand in sharp contrast in the relative weight they each give to the various parts of the campaign. Whereas the stele devotes the first twenty-three lines to an account of the campaign as far as the defeat of Harhar and then adds another twenty-nine lines describing the remainder, the annals account for the first part runs to twenty lines and the rest is disposed of in three lines; TNAS, pp. 36ff., ll. 23ff and Lie, Sargon II, pp. 12ff., ll. 78ff.

45. TNAS, p. 38, ll. 33f. See n. 43 above.
46. Lie, Sargon II, ll. 92-93.
47. TNAS, p. 38, ll. 36-41 and cf. Lie, Sargon II, ll. 93-96. Hundir is known from the tribute list of Shamshi-Adad V's third campaign; ARAB, I, par. 722. Harhubarban appears in Sargon's 8th palû letter to Ashur as Halhubarra, in association with Ellipi and Kilambate; TCL III, l. 43. Bit Sagbat is probably to be connected to Bit Shagabi in the stele; TNAS, p. 38, l. 40. For Bit Umargi, cf. Bit Uargi; TNAS, p. 40, l. 48.
48. Lie, Sargon II, p. 16, ll. 96-100; Levine, TNAS, pp. 38-40, ll. 41-46. The stele notes the impalement of the warriors of Harhar. The attempted alliance with Dalta was evidently stillborn; the latter's fidelity to Assyria goes unquestioned in both the annals and the stele. This is the first mention of Harhar since the reign of Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.).
49. Lie, Sargon II, p. 16, ll. 98-99. The stele mentions only Arazishu and Bit Ramatiya followed by a lacunae; see TNAS, p. 40, l. 45. At least part of this extra territory was considered Median by Sargon; cf. Prism fragment S 2022, col. II: "they sent their messenger . . . to Sikris of the land of the Medes, into my presence," ARAB, II, par. 214. Uriqatu may be a scribal error; cf. Lie, Sargon II, p. 16, l. 99 and p. 18, ll. 109-110 where Upparia appears instead. The stele account of the 6th palû campaign does not refer to an Uriqatu but does mention Upurya (sic) in its place; TNAS, p. 40, ll. 47, 48, and p. 50, ll. 54, 58. Uriqatu occurs nowhere else in the Neo-Assyrian sources. The second reference in Parpola, NAT, p. 374 sub Uriqatu is incorrect; Lie, Sargon II, p. 18, l. 110 actually restores Kur Ū-ri-[ak-ki].
50. For the annals, see Lie, Sargon II, pp. 16-22, ll. 101-126. The Display Inscription collapses all the Mannean campaigns together to provide a thoroughly confusing account; here Ullusunu gives the twenty-two fortresses to Rusa as a bribe! See ARAB, II, par. 56. The Display Inscription adds that Sargon seized these

twenty-two fortresses and annexed them to Assyria. After forgiyng Ullusunū for his crimes, Sargon returned the twenty-two fortresses to him along with two of his strong cities which Sargon had taken from Rusa and Mitatti of Zikirtu. In the Annals, Sargon seizes the fortresses and annexes them to Assyria in his 7th palū (l. 103), finds Ullusunū a willing ally (l. 127 and see particularly TCL III, ll. 32ff and 62) and rewards him with the return of the province of Uishdish which Rusa had taken from Ullusunū (ll. 136-137). It seems likely that Uishdish and the land of the twenty-two fortresses are identical but it cannot be demonstrated from the sources.

51. Daiaukku is simply described as a governor (šaknu) of Mannea and is not specifically associated with a particular province; Lie, Sargon II, p. 18, l. 102. A number of reasons suggest that he was the governor of the province of Uishdish replacing the slain Bagdatti. Firstly, the governors of Zikirtu (Mitatti) and Andia (Telusina) are known in 715 B.C. which leaves Uishdish and Missi as possibilities. However, Missi is never associated with a governor in Assyrian sources and it may have had an alternative relationship with Mannea. Secondly, the accounts of the 7th palū revolt suggest that an area bordering on the Urartian frontier is involved which favours Uishdish over Missi. On the frequently suggested identification of this Daiaukku with the Median Deioces of Herodotus, see below, ch. 6, n. 5. Yet another version of this campaign appears in the Ashur prism wherein Rusa seizes twelve (sic) fortresses which had been built against the lands of Urartu, Andia and Nairi. Urartian garrisons were installed. Sargon recaptures the fortresses and the prism account suggests that he left a combined Assyrian-Mannean garrison in each stronghold. See Weidner, AfO, 14 (1941-44), pp. 46ff.
52. The list of defeated cities is incomplete but includes Ka-(X)-na, Kinzarbara, Halbuknu and Anzaria. The cities of Kisheshlu, Kindau, Anzaria and Bit-Gabaia were renamed Kar-Nabū, Kar-Sin, Kar-Adad, and Kar-Ishtar; Lie, Sargon II, p. 20, ll. 111-114.
53. Lie, Sargon II, p. 20, ll. 114-116.
54. For the annals, see Lie, Sargon II, pp. 22-28, ll. 127-165, and corrections supplied by Olmstead, AJSL, 47 (1930), pp. 259-280. The basic text of the letter used here is Thureau-Dangin's; TCL III. The many secondary discussions of the 8th palū campaign cannot be exhaustively listed here but mention should be made of H.A. Rigg, Jr., "Sargon's Eighth Military Campaign," JAOS, 62 (1942), pp. 130-138; E.M. Wright, "The Eighth Campaign of Sargon II of Assyria," JNES, 2 (1943), pp. 173-186; and, most recently and most importantly, Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, pp. 135-151. Additional references are listed by Börger, HKL, p. 573.
55. TCL III, ll. 39ff. Most of the personal names and toponyms associated with these Median tributaries are already familiar from the 6th palū campaign tribute list in the Najafehabad stele but a number are new.

56. Herzfeld suggested that the use of Kakmi in the Letter to Assur is archaizing and simply a general term like Lullume and Guti. Kakkam, a variant form which appears elsewhere, is demonstrably an old toponym occurring for example in the date formula for Hammurapi's year 37; E. Herzfeld, The Persian Empire (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968), p. 234. An Ashpanra of the land of Kakkam occurs in a tributary list in Nineveh prism A which suggests that a specific area is intended. None of the references to Kakmi/Kakkam, however, provide any locational information other than that the polity was in a position to be a threat to Mannea; for references, see Parpola, NAT, sub Kakkam.
 57. For this understanding of the text, see Young, Iran, 5 (1967), p. 16, n. 46 where he cites A. K. Grayson.
 58. See ABL 515, a report to Sargon II from an Assyrian official to the effect that messengers from Zikirtu and Andia have arrived in Uasi to tell the Urartian king that the king of Assyria was upon them. Cf. also ABL 198.
 59. Two separate areas are obviously intended. Sargon notes that the Urartians of Zaranda were unequalled in their knowledge of riding horses, trained from wild herds. However, these wild horses were not caught "as far over as Subi, a district which the people of Urartu call Mannean country, nor are the herds seen there," TCL III, 1. 172.
 60. Not to be confused with Bit Sangibuti/Singibuti in the central Zagros; Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, pp. 142-143.
 61. On Uaiais, see ch. 2, n. 49 above.
 62. Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, pp. 135ff.
 63. See Thureau-Dangin, TCL III, pp. viff.; A.T.E. Olmstead, History of Assyria (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), pp. 229ff.; and Wright, JNES, 2 (1943), pp. 173ff. Both Thureau-Dangin and Olmstead argued that Sargon passed up the east side of Lake Urmia and took a northern route around Lake Van before returning to Assyria. Otherwise, the treatments differ only in detail, particularly in the specific identification of toponyms with modern landmarks.
- The exception was Wright's reconstruction. In his study, he deals only with the first part of the campaign, staying within the limits of his personal knowledge of Azerbaijan. From the outset, however, his work was flawed by an erroneous location for Parsua just to the south of Lake Urmia.
64. As the campaign began in June/July, this provided a maximum of five months or roughly 150 days before the passes became blocked with snow in late October/early November. A march from Assyria to

Parsua in central-west Iran and from there around Urmia and Van before returning to Hubushkia and Musasir becomes an improbable, if not impossible, task. The minimal route proposed by Levine still covers a distance of some 1,500 kms., representing an average of 10 kms. march per diem over some of the roughest terrain in western Asia and not allowing for time lost due to stops, tribute collection, battles, plundering activities and so forth. Roman legions marched 10,000 paces a day, i.e., approximately 15 kms. On magnum iter, twice that distance could be covered. However, these distances were achieved on prepared roads and should be considered as outside limits. See R. Chevalier, Roman Roads (London: Batsford, 1976), p. 194.

65. The exception was Wright; see n. 63 above.
66. Occupation sites, tombs and inscriptions demonstrate a strong Urartian presence in Azerbaijan, particularly down the west coast of Lake Urmia as far as the Mahabad region; see W. Kleiss, "Planaufnahmen urartäischer Burgen und Neufunde urartäischer Anlagen in Iranisch-Azerbaidjan im Jahre 1974," AMI.NF, 8 (1975), p. 69, fig. 22.
67. Levine, Mountains and Lowlands, pp. 135ff. should be consulted for full documentation and a detailed defense of the proposed route via the west coast of Lake Urmia. It should be noted that while the overall parameters of Levine's reconstruction are undoubtedly correct, the evidence for the detailed reconstruction of the route is not apodeictic. It is possible that Sargon circumnavigated Lake Urmia via the east shore and returned down the west shore.
68. Lie, Sargon II, pp. 28ff., ll. 165-204.
69. See Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 95. Luckenbill, on the basis of Winckler's text, reads "against the lands of Ellipi, Bit-Daiukku, Karalla, I marched . . ."; see ARAB, II, par. 23. Both Olmstead and Lie restore [mat Ma] -da-a-a instead of Bit-Daiukki; see Lie, Sargon II, p. 29, n. 18. Lie does not attempt the restoration of the very fragmentary lines 170-182 of the annals. For such a restoration, see Olmstead, AJSL, 47 (1930), pp. 267f. based on a parallel but still badly damaged slab.
70. The mountain name is broken: . . . Jur(?) -da. However it is most likely a variant orthography of KUR Šur-da, a toponym mentioned several times in connection with Karalla; see NAT, p. 340, for references. In his restoration of the Nineveh prism, Tadmor has arrived at the same suggestion; see JCS, 12 (1958), p. 88.
71. Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 91.
72. See Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 88, n. 280 for this restoration.
73. Olmstead, AJSL, 47 (1930), pp. 267-268: V 14, 2ff.

74. See Gadd, Iraq, 16 (1954), p. 177, prism D, col. iii, ll. 42ff. Because of its different nature, this prism is more difficult to use than the Nineveh prism or the annals. Note where the annals list the tribute from the Medes as totalling 4,609 horses (Lie, Sargon II, p. 30, l. 193), the Nimrud prism D gives a figure of 8,609 (l. 55).
75. See ARAB, II, par. 212. It is interesting to note that the Nimrud prism D is more specific than the Nineveh prism in saying that five provinces took part in the rebellion while prism D uses the phrase "the whole of his land." Generally, in its organization and annalistic style, the Nineveh prism is the more reliable source of the two documents but this does not really affect this point. Perhaps, we can equate the two pieces of information and understand that Ellipi was divided into five provinces at this time.
76. ARAB, II, par. 191-2 (= K1668b + D.T.6, II). The list ends on Sm.2049, I, ll. 1-4; see Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 98.
77. Lie, Sargon II, p. 30, ll. 184-193. The Display Inscription from Khorsabad salons IV, VII, VIII and X (Winckler's Prunkinschrift) because of its nature as a summary and also because of its late date must be used very cautiously. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the contents of the section of Media; see ARAB, II, par. 58. Here we have a claim that thirty-four districts of the Medes were annexed or "brought within the borders of Assyria," a claim which cannot be substantiated elsewhere. The text continues to the effect that the city of Erishtana together with the cities of its neighbourhood which belong to the district of Ba'it-ili were conquered. The lands of Agazi, Ambanda, and Media on the eastern border of the land of Aribi, who had withheld their tribute, were burned down. This seems obviously to be based on the events of the 9th palû, at least, as far as we know it from the annals account.
78. Lie, Sargon II, p. 72, ll. 13-17 (= V, ll. 7-13) and p. 74, ll. 1-8 (= V, 3, ll. 1-8). An almost identical account is preserved in the Khorsabad Display Inscription; see ARAB, II, par. 65.
79. The date of this campaign cannot be fixed with certainty as it is nowhere mentioned in a dated context. Presumably, it must have taken place in either the 13th or 14th palû. The only time that the eponym chronicles mention a campaign against any part of the central Zagros after the 9th palû campaign to quell the revolt against Dalta is in year 16 (706 B.C.); see RLA, 2 (1938), p. 434, Cb4, l. 20 and Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 85. This was a campaign against Karalla led by the magnates of the king. As several commentators have noted, Ishpabara is an Iranian name and presumably his mother was Iranian. See Young, Iran, 5 (1967), p. 13 and n. 16: OP Asabara, Median*aspabara.

80. ABL 174 reports on Ellipi which has been given to an unnamed individual, probably Ishpabara, and Sangibutu (here Shungibutu) which has been placed under the control of the writer, one Marduk-sar-usur, an Assyrian official. Some individuals who can command a cavalry force evidently plan to rebel.

ABL 1454 by an unknown author refers to the death of Dalta and adds later in the letter that the Medes are unsubmissive.

81. For C^b6 see RLA, 2, p. 435.9 and Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 97 and n. 311. ABL 473 concerns the death of an unnamed king and the mourning for him in the city of Ashur. Even if we can restore KUR Gi-m[ir-ra-a] in line 18 as has been suggested, this does not help resolve the question. Cimmerians are known to have operated both in Tabal and the Zagros at least in a slightly later period. See Tadmor, JCS, 12 (1958), p. 37 and n. 138. Both Streck, ZfA, 15 (1900), p. 366 and Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 267 have suggested an Iranian location for Sargon's death. For references to the sometime troublesome people of Kuluman located somewhere near Ellipi, see ABL 129 and 1046, PRT, 7.9. rev. 4 and ND 2655 in Saggs, Iraq, 20 (1958), p. 191. The Iranian argument must hinge on the acceptance of two campaigns for year 17, only one of which is recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle.
82. In the letters the king of Urartu is usually referred to by title only. There is a single unequivocal reference to Argishti II in ABL 424.16 (= SIA, no. 6.). In every other case the name of Argishti has been restored on dubious historical grounds.
83. The inscriptions list the king's conquests of various lands up to the river Muna and represent evidence of the most easterly Urartian penetration known so far from Iran. See Benedict, JCS, 19 (1965), pp. 35-40.
84. ABL 144.
85. The usual dating of this event to the reign of Argishti II is, in fact, tenuous. None of the several letters bearing on the Cimmerian victory actually mention the Urartian king by name and there are no internal criteria for dating the Cimmerian invasion. It seems that the people of Gamirra were once tributaries of Urartu (ABL 146) but when the Urartians went against them, they were routed, nine Urartian provincial governors were killed including the commander-in-chief and the Urartian king fled to the land of Uazaun where Urzana of Musasir went to meet him; cf. ABL 146; 646; 197; 1079; 1196. In this context we should note the reconstructed entry in eponym chronicle Cb4 for year 9 (713 B.C.) stating that the god Haldia was returned to Musasir; see Tadmor, JCS, 12, p. 86. Sargon does not claim to have killed Urzana during the seizure of Musasir, only to have captured him. No specific claim of deportation is even made, except for Urzana's family. Accordingly, the letters from Urzana (ABL 409, 768, and 1240(?) or letters in which he is mentioned (ABL 197, 1196)

cannot be certainly dated to either before or after the 8th palû. However, if the Cimmerian victory can definitely be dated to the reign of Argishti, then ABL 197 which mentions that event would definitely prove that Urzana was still in control of Musasir after the 8th palû. See also ND 1107, a fragment of a letter referring to both Urzanu and the Cimmerians; Postgate, The Governor's Palace Archive (1973), p. 227, no. 243 and pl. 84; also Wiseman, Iraq, 14 (1952), p. 64.

86. See ABL 548 (SLA, no. 5) and amended translation in CAD B 365 for a remarkably polite and restrained Assyrian protest to Urartu concerning the seizure of some fortresses.

CHAPTER 5

MAINTENANCE AND DECLINE (704-609 B.C.)

As a very eminent archaeologist once remarked, "No matter which way you slice the sausage, it's all baloney." The apothegm was a reminder that, to a large degree, all periodization of an historical continuum is arbitrary. The division between the fourth and fifth period of this historical narrative of Neo-Assyrian activities in the Zagros mountains is perhaps less marked than has been the case heretofore. The fourth period (704-669 B.C.) was one in which Sennacherib and Esarhaddon struggled to maintain the eastern empire they had inherited. Despite the prevarication of the Assyrian sources, it is clear that by the end of Esarhaddon's reign in 669 B.C., various indigenous Zagros polities had managed to pry loose Assyria's grip on their affairs.

To Ashurbanipal, whose reign largely comprises the fifth period (668-609 B.C.), fell the task of re-establishing Assyrian control over the eastern mountains. While there is no a priori reason to doubt his initial success in so doing, the achievement was transitory and Assyrian fortunes in the Zagros appear to have declined rapidly thereafter. Therefore, although there is some utility in emphasizing the differing objectives of the two periods, they are best treated together in the same chapter.

Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.)

The succession to the Assyrian throne of Sennacherib ushered in a notable shift in the state's foreign policy. Whereas both Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II had campaigned vigorously in the northern and eastern sectors of the empire, Sennacherib found himself embroiled with problems in the western and southern sectors. Continued revolt in Babylonia, backed by Elamite opportunism, demanded the attention of the new Assyrian monarch for a substantial part of his reign, although some official and "unofficial" campaigns were mounted in other directions. Only one campaign, that of the 2nd palû, was directed towards the east and it is with that venture that we are mostly concerned here.

The 2nd Palû Campaign (702 B.C.)

No less than six different accounts in various forms exist of the 2nd palû campaign but these can be quickly winnowed out. The three prism inscriptions of Sennacherib may be effectively disregarded because they are much later accounts than the Bellino cylinder which is taken as a basis for the following reconstruction.¹

The campaign consisted of two distinct parts. The first of these was an action against "the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallai" which are to be understood as Namri and Hälman respectively.² This first part of the campaign was effectively prosecuted over difficult mountainous terrain and various Namrite cities were placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of Arrapha.

At this point, Sennacherib turned about and set out for Ellipi, Ispabara, who owed his throne to Assyria, fled before Sennacherib's advance and his royal cities of Marubishti and Akkuddu were captured

along with thirty-four fortresses and villages. No reason is given for this sudden disaffection of Ellipi. Whatever the grievance was, Sennacherib's retaliation was severe. The orchards of Ellipi were cut down and the phrase "over their fertile(?) fields I poured out misery" perhaps suggests that other measures were taken to destroy the agricultural potential of the land.³

The Ellipian province of Bit Barrua was annexed and added to the province of Harhar. Elenzash, an Ellipian town, was turned into an Assyrian royal city and renamed Kar Sennacherib. The text implies that an Assyrian garrison was established there to protect the new possessions.⁴ The campaign account closes with the terse notice that, on his return march, Sennacherib received "the heavy tribute of the distant Medes."⁵ It is possible that this involved a march through Median territory but there is no confirmation of this suggestion from any of the relevant sources.

We know virtually nothing of conditions in the Zagros mountains in the reign of Sennacherib following the 2nd palu campaign. Much of the subsequent reign of Sennacherib was taken up with hostilities against Babylonia and her Elamite ally, although campaigns were also mounted against the western and northern borders of the empire. Among those taking part in the battle of Halule in 691 B.C. on the side of the Elamite-Babylonian coalition were Ellipi and Parsuash but the full implications of this notice are uncertain.⁶ This could be a reference to either the Parsuash of the central Zagros or to that Parsuash which Ashurbanipal later locates "on the far side of Elam" and which can only refer to the Persians of Fars province.⁷ Moreover, it is not clear whether Ellipi is involved as a state or whether these are

Ellipian refugees from Sennacherib's 2nd palû campaign who were now in the service of Elam.

Because of these imponderables, the evidence can be read either way. The situation in the central Zagros in the middle of Sennacherib's reign may have deteriorated to such a degree that both Parsuash and Ellipi could rise up in revolt. Alternatively, the situation there may have been relatively secure and the southern Parsuash is meant, the Ellipians being understood as disaffected refugees. A consideration which perhaps counts against the first proposition is the fact that there is no record of any punitive campaign against Ellipi, or, indeed, of any further military action in the Zagros mountains, for the remainder of Sennacherib's reign.

Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.)

Only fragments of Esarhaddon's annals are known and this complicates any historical treatment of his reign. A basic chronology may be established from the Babylonian Chronicle and the Esarhaddon Chronicle but neither source preserves any material relating to eastern affairs.⁸ Despite their summary nature and dubious reliability, the display inscriptions (preserved on a number of prisms must be used to flesh out this skeleton.⁹ Additional details may be gleaned from a variety of sources including the royal correspondence, the omen texts, and the vassal treaties.¹⁰ However, our understanding of Assyrian affairs in the Zagros in this period is strictly limited.

We have a record of only two eastern campaigns from the reign of Esarhaddon, one against Mannea probably to be dated to the 3rd palû (678 B.C.) and the other against Media probably in the 5th palû

(676 B.C.).¹¹ Little is known of either campaign. The basic source for both is prism B.

The Mannean Campaign of Esarhaddon (678 B.C.?)

Prism B deals summarily with Esarhaddon's Mannean campaign.

I routed the Mannians, intractable Guti, and the army of Ishpakaia, the Scythian; an alliance (kitru) did not save him. I slew (him) with my weapons.¹²

With this brief notice, the Scythians enter the known history of the Zagros.¹³ We are unable, however, to establish the nature of the Scythian presence in Mannea or its geographical and temporal parameters. Nor can we determine what common interests resulted in a Mannean-Scythian alliance. The Mannean-Assyrian cooperation of the reign of Sargon had been replaced by open conflict between the nations. Even if success attended the 678 B.C. campaign, it was evidently only temporary and a number of other sources document the lack of Assyrian control over Mannea in the rest of Esarhaddon's reign.¹⁴

Two other sources concern themselves with the safety of Assyrian military expeditions operating in or near Mannea but it cannot be determined whether these relate to the campaign of 678 B.C. or to another campaign of which we have no record in the royal inscriptions. One of these sources, an omen text, provides little information.¹⁵ The other, a long and fairly complete letter (ABL, 1237) deserves closer scrutiny.

The convoluted style of the opening sentences results in some confusion as to exactly what is happening. It would seem that a military campaign against Mannea is actually in progress. Esarhaddon has ordered all of his troops to enter Mannea but some are being held in reserve

and the writer is evidently advising caution. He suggests that raids by the cavalry and the Dakku should be carried out against the Cimmerians. The latter claim not to have entered Mannea because it belonged to Assyria but the writer emphasizes that they are liars and know nothing of divine oaths and compacts. The letter continues to state that the Assyrians have established themselves in a pass from which the cavalry and the Dakku have raided the crops of the Manneans. So far, there has been no response or retaliation by the Cimmerians. The writer advises Esarhaddon that the Cimmerians will certainly be held back but reinforcements should be sent and a fortress should be established. Then the whole army could attack, lay waste the crops, and find out if the Indaruai have retreated. The forces should attack their city (i.e., of the Indaruai?).¹⁶

There are several interesting features to the letter. It is the only source of any kind that directly associates Cimmerians with Mannean territory. Cimmerians are mentioned in connection with Manneans, Medes and others in several omens but these are all apparently concerned with events in the central Zagros.¹⁷ The letter also provides evidence of another new group of people who are otherwise known from only one letter. These Indaruai were evidently established in a district of Mannea under the rule of a king, but whether they were Cimmerian, Scythian, or of some other ethnolinguistic connection is unknown.¹⁸

Two other letters of uncertain date but from the reign of Esarhaddon refer to hostile Mannean action in or near Parsua and increased Assyrian vigilance on the frontiers of Urartu, Mannea, Hubushkia and Media.¹⁹ An Esarhaddon omen text of uncertain date

refers to Scythian warriors who live in a district of Mannea. These soldiers have evidently gone to the borders of Mannea and Esarhaddon wishes to know whether they will march out from the pass of Hubushkia against the cities of Harrania and Anisuskia. Will they plunder the borders of Assyria enquires the troubled monarch?²⁰ Another threatened city which appears in the omen texts is Dur Enlil, described as being on the borders of Mannea. Evidently an Assyrian force has been sent to relieve the city or win it back, and Esarhaddon is enquiring as to what success can be expected.²¹

These several references paint a rather dismal picture of the extent of Assyrian control over the northern Zagros in the reign of Esarhaddon. The Manneans not only came out in open revolt against their Assyrian masters but formed alliances with other, apparently intrusive, ethnic groups such as the Scythians, the Cimmerians, and the Indaruai. Nor were the Manneans content with simply securing their own freedom. They were a threat to Parsua and it would seem that Allabria fell to them as Ashurbanipal had to reconquer the area early in his reign.²² As we shall see below, conditions in the central Zagros were not a great deal better.

The Median Campaign of Esarhaddon (676 B.C.?)

Epigraphic sources relating to the central Zagros in the reign of Esarhaddon comprise royal correspondence, royal inscriptions, omen texts, and the vassal treaties. Each category affords a rather different picture of the situation in this area. Only four Harper letters dating from Esarhaddon's reign can be definitely connected with the central Zagros and all are concerned with the shipment of horses to

Assyria. Apart from a single reference to the theft of some horses by Manneans, the impression gained from this admittedly meagre evidence is that the situation is quite normal.²³

A more complex scenario emerges from the royal inscriptions; prism B constitutes the basic source for the campaign against Media that probably took place, as we have suggested, in Esarhaddon's 5th palû, 676 B.C.²⁴ It would seem that an entreaty for help was the immediate cause of the Median campaign. Three Median city chiefs, presented themselves at Nineveh with gifts of "great horses and blocks of lapis lazuli, quarried in their mountains." The trio, Uppis, Zanāsana, and Ramateia of the cities of Partakka, Partukka, and Urakazabarna respectively, requested Assyrian protection (kitru) against several other city chiefs who threatened them.²⁵ Esarhaddon's response was to make the suppliants tributaries and consolidate their position by despatching his eunuchs as responsible officials over them. Assyrian troops subdued the rebellious cities and tribute and tax were imposed on them.

During the same campaign, military activities were evidently extended to include the Median area of Patusharra, a land described as bordering on the salt desert (bīt tābtī), in the midst of the land of the Medes, near Bīkni, the lapis lazuli mountain. Two powerful city chiefs, Shidirparna and Eparna, who had never before been tributaries, were captured and deported to Assyria along with their people and assorted booty of horses, cattle and camels. One might suggest that these two Median rulers were the adversaries against whom Uppis, Zanāsana and Ramateia sought protection but the text of the prism does not allow any certainty in that interpretation.²⁶

The Omen Texts and the Central Zagros

The omen texts must be treated separately because of their uncertain date. Many of these texts are concerned with the activities of one Kashtaritu of Kar Kassi.²⁷ The common assumption that he led a coalition of Manneans, Medes, Cimmerians, and Sapardians is totally unsubstantiated. The relevant omen texts identify these groups only as alternative potential enemies.²⁸ Various cities are threatened by their actions, including Kishassu (Kishesim).²⁹ Other omens give an even gloomier picture. Hostile groups, including Cimmerians, Medes and Scythians, threaten Parsua and Bit Hamban.³⁰ Ellipi is also named as an enemy threatening Šissirtu, a border fortress with the province of Harbar (Kar Sharukkin), and acting in concert with Medes, Cimmerians, and possibly Manneans.³¹

We have no direct knowledge of the Assyrian response to these threats. One omen (AGS 3 = PRT 3), suggests that Esarhaddon has sent a messenger to Kashtaritu but is worried about the messenger's fate. Another omen (PRT 13), in referring to "Kashtaritu in this battle . . .," suggests that the Assyrians came into conflict with the coalition but of this we have no independent corroboration. In these uncertain times, the Assyrians continued to perform such tasks as the collecting of horse tribute and several omens concern the safety of these expeditions which evidently ranged deeply into Media.³² Despite widespread opposition, therefore, Assyrian provincial organization was still functioning. The treaties which Esarhaddon concluded with his vassals in 672 B.C. towards the end of his reign, demonstrate that Assyria managed to retain a hold, however tenuous, on some areas in the central Zagros.

The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (672 B.C.)

In 672 B.C., Esarhaddon gathered together in Nineveh the governors of the various provinces of the empire and his vassal rulers. The object of the assembly was to ensure the succession of his two sons, Ashurbanipal and Sin-shar-ishkun, to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia respectively. The method of so doing was to draw up a binding oath of allegiance which each vassal had to acknowledge. Nine of these treaties are extant and, curiously, at least six of the nine, if not all, are between Esarhaddon and vassals from the east.³³

The six vassals of whom we have knowledge in these treaties comprise Ramateia of Urukazaba(r)na, Tuni of Elpa (Ellipi?), Burdada of Karzitali, Humbarešh of Nahshimarta, Hatarna of Sikrisi, and Larkutla of Zamua. Ramateia we already know from Esarhaddon's Median campaign and it is possible that the two other Medes, Uppis of Partakka and Zanasana of Partukka, who also figure in that campaign as vassals, may have been the vassals of the two copies which have lost their headings.

In reviewing the historical circumstances surrounding the vassal-treaties, Wiseman concludes:

It would seem that in 672 BC, Esarhaddon was favourably placed, as regards his eastern borders, to ensure a large measure of agreement and loyalty to his measures demanding support for Ashurbanipal. This favourable situation was, however, already showing signs of deterioration.³⁴

The question is--just how favourable can we demonstrate this situation to have been? Our assessment hinges largely on the dating of the omen texts. Were they prior to the conclusion of the vassal treaties and had Esarhaddon therefore brought the situation under control by 672 B.C.? Or do all or some of the omen texts date from after 672

B.C. and thus reflect the relative collapse of Assyrian power in the central Zagros? The omen texts themselves do not help to pinpoint the date of the events they describe. AGS 33 (=PRT 21) which concerns a horse tribute collection deep inside Media and mentions Eparna must presumably date to a period before the Median campaign when Eparna was captured and deported. However, this text fails to mention Kashtaritu and does not help in dating his activities. The reference to Tuni (of Ellipi?) in AGS 52 is similarly inconclusive as it could date to either before or after his appearance as a vassal in 672 B.C.³⁵

The Fourth Period: Maintenance (704-669 B.C.)

The reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon brought new power shifts in Assyrian relations with the Zagros polities and with Urartu and Elam situated at either end of the mountain chain. Territories previously secured by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II such as Mannea, Media, and Ellipi, managed to loosen Assyria's hold with varying degrees of success. The period is extremely difficult to analyze due to the fact that the sources forming the basis for this reconstruction have changed radically. In no case, do we have anything like a detailed account of a Zagros campaign and we are obliged to work with the summaries of the prisms. On top of this we have a motley collection of miscellanea extracted from royal correspondence, omen texts, and vassal treaties. While these are welcome additions, the resulting picture is confused and open to various interpretations. Consequently, the tenuous nature of this reconstruction cannot be overstressed.

Assyrian relations with Mannea during the reign of Sennacherib are undocumented. At least one Mannean campaign was launched by Esarhaddon early in his reign but the brevity of his claim for victory and the fact that Ashurbanipal later had to recapture territory lost to Mannea imply that Esarhaddon's success was transitory at best. Mannea as a rebellious vassal or as the victim of Urartian designs are the only two roles in which the polity has been cast until this period. Mannea as a predatory state which probably annexed Allabria and whose Scythian allies threatened Hubushkia is a novel phenomenon. In addition, it appears that the Manneans participated in an anti-Assyrian coalition with the Medes and other disaffected elements in the Zagros.

At the conclusion of his 2nd palû campaign in 702 B.C., Sennacherib claims to have received the tribute of "the distant Medes" but we cannot determine whether he actually campaigned in Media proper. A Median campaign, evidently deep in penetration but limited in scope, is probably to be dated to Esarhaddon's 5th palû (676 B.C.). At least one of the rulers then made a vassal, Ramateia of Urukazabarna, remained faithful for the subsequent three years when his name appeared in the vassal treaties. We have evidence, therefore, for a limited Assyrian hold on at least a part of Media down to the end of Esarhaddon's reign but the royal correspondence and the omen texts suggest that the situation in the central Zagros was far from stable. Assyrian outposts were under siege both north and south of the Great Khorasan Road.

Long one of Assyria's most obedient vassals, Ellipi assumed an aggressive posture at the beginning of this period and brought down upon itself the savage reprisal of Sennacherib's 2nd palû campaign.

Later, in 691 B.C., Ellipian elements took part in the Battle of Halule on the side of the Elamite-Babylonian coalition. By 672 B.C., the state had resumed its vassal status and Tuni of Elpa (Ellipi) appears in the vassal treaties. How this was achieved, we do not know. However, the omen texts show that either before or shortly after that date Ellipi may have participated in an anti-Assyrian coalition.

Confusing the issue are the free-ranging activities of the Scythians in Mannea, Media, and close to the Assyrian borders in Hubushkia and Bit Hamban.³⁶ The Cimmerian presence documented in the sources is even more widespread, stretching in an arc from Media in the east, through Mannea, to Tabal in the north-west.³⁷ The royal correspondence from the reign of Esarhaddon depicts a complex situation with regard to these intrusive elements in the Zagros. However, the nature and size of their presence remains unknown.

On the whole, and with due reservations about the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence, one is obliged to conclude that Assyrian control over most of the Zagros in this period was enfeebled and under tremendous pressure from the indigenous polities. In a wider perspective, the position of Assyria towards the end of Esarhaddon's reign appears to have been relatively strong. To be sure, internal troubles of unknown magnitude brought about a conspiracy or open rebellion in Assyria in 670 B.C. against Esarhaddon, a crisis that was resolved only with the execution of many of the nobles of the country.³⁸ But relations with Urartu remained peaceful and there had even been some amicable rapprochement with Elam.³⁹ The situation in Babylonia and the western empire was fairly stable and Egypt had been partially conquered. It must have seemed to the new

Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal, a propitious time to attempt to re-establish Assyrian control over the Zagros.

Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.)

The task of the historian, confronted with the reconstruction of the reign of Ashurbanipal, is unenviable. Despite the relative profusion of sources for the first half of this king's reign, the high degree of editorial revision and re-arrangement in these texts makes them unreliable both in their content and sequence of episodes. Fortunately, a simpler task is required here—the careful evaluation of the limited evidence bearing on Ashurbanipal's dealings with western Iran. Apart from the protracted struggle with Elam, we have evidence of only one Assyrian incursion into the Zagros during Ashurbanipal's reign. This campaign, variously dated to the 3rd, 4th, or 5th palû, was directed against Mannea and Media in that order. The most reliable account of the campaign is that provided by prism B but this text postdates these events by some twenty years and must therefore be used with caution.⁴⁰

The Mannean Campaign

The Assyrians began the campaign by moving into Zamua and setting up temporary headquarters in the city of Dur-Ashur, formerly Atlila. Ahsheri, the Mannean king, forewarned of the expedition, attempted a night attack on this position but was beaten back. The boldness of this Mannean attack on an Assyrian army within an Assyrian province eloquently testifies to the deterioration that must have taken place in Assyria's hold over the Zagros during the previous

reigns. The Mannians were pursued into their homeland which was devastated for a distance of fifteen days march. More than a dozen Mannian cities, including Izirtu, the capital, were captured.⁴¹ In addition, cities in the district of Paddiru, a part of Allabria, were restored to Assyrian rule along with Assyrian fortresses on the Mannian frontier.⁴²

A long passage is interpolated after the close of the Mannian campaign which describes the consequences of Ashurbanipal's victory. Ahsheri, we are told, was assassinated in a popular rebellion. His son, Ualli, took the throne and sought to make peace with Assyria by despatching his own son and heir, Erisinni, to Nineveh where Ashurbanipal received the Mannian offer of vassalage. The former tribute of Mannea was re-imposed with an additional levy of thirty horses.⁴³

The Median Campaign

The following section in prism B introduces an extremely brief account of Ashurbanipal's Median campaign. Whether this action immediately followed the successful Mannian venture, or came at some later date, is not clear.⁴⁴ Birishatri, a chieftain of the Medes, along with his two sons, Sharati and Parihi, as well as Gagi, chieftain of the land of Shahi, had rebelled against Assyrian rule. Ashurbanipal claims to have conquered seventy-five of their "strong cities," captured the rebel leaders and deported them to Assyria. With this laconic notice, the last known Assyrian campaign in the Zagros mountains is described.

The Fifth Period: Decline (668-609 B.C.)

Given the poverty of documentation on the Zagros region in this period from the beginning of Ashurbanipal's reign to the fall of Nineveh, any generalization about Assyrian affairs in the eastern mountains must be extremely tentative. From the entire reign of Ashurbanipal (668-627? B.C.), there is only the extremely brief account of one campaign against Mannea and Media. Thereafter, we have no extant references to Assyrian activities in the Zagros and the final collapse of the provincial system in the region cannot be dated. There is no obvious reason to doubt the reassertion of Assyrian control over Mannea and Media early in Ashurbanipal's reign, particularly in the light of the demonstrable power and efficiency of the Assyrian army in quelling later widespread revolt within the empire and in crushing Elam. Yet during the reigns of Ashurbanipal and his successors, major geopolitical re-alignments took place that culminated in Median and Babylonian supremacy.

Cordial relations were maintained with Urartu throughout Ashurbanipal's reign. Only one small skirmish between Assyrian and Urartian troops is recorded and the blame for the incident is laid on a subordinate of the Urartian king rather than the king himself.⁴⁵ Moreover, on two separate occasions, Urartian kings despatched diplomatic emissaries to Ashurbanipal with messages of peace.⁴⁶ The situation in the northern Zagros, following the defeat of Ahsheri of Mannea, was possibly quite stable for the remainder of this period. That Mannea appears as an Assyrian ally at the battle of Gablini in 616 B.C. suggests that Ualli and his heirs remained faithful to their

pledge of fealty.⁴⁷ Perhaps, by this late stage, the Manneans recognized in Assyria their only insurance for survival against the nascent power of Media.

The Cimmerians are mentioned only twice in sources that can be definitely attributed to the reign of Ashurbanipal and, in both cases, they are connected with areas to the north-west of Assyria, namely Tabal and Lydia.⁴⁸ However, it would be improper to conclude from the absence of any reference to the Scythians and Cimmerians in the Zagros mountains during this period that they were no longer present there. Indeed, if we are to believe Herodotus, a Scythian presence was maintained in Media for a twenty-eight year period in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.⁴⁹

The complex history of revolt and usurpation in Elam during the reign of Ashurbanipal cannot be unravelled here in all its many strands. For the first three decades of his reign, Ashurbanipal was repeatedly drawn into conflict with Elam and the Assyrian records treat us to an almost bewildering parade of Elamite rulers.⁵⁰ It is not clear what economic, social, and political factors underlay the instability in Elam, nor what brought them into opposition so frequently with Assyria. Elamite involvement with independence movements in Babylonia seems more of a symptom rather than a cause of their rivalry with Assyria. Internally, given the frequent coups d'état and the fact that the country was sometimes divided into separate polities centred on Susa, Madaktu, and Hidalu, it is obvious that certain problems manifested themselves as strong centrifugal forces tending to fragment the kingdom.

By the eighth campaign of the Rassam prism, it would seem that Assyrian patience was exhausted and in 639 B.C. Ashurbanipal took full measure of his anger in the methodical destruction and looting of all Elam.⁵¹ It is important to note that included among the list of cities that had participated in the Elamite revolt against Assyria was Aranziash. The latter is known from the annals of Sargon II to have been located in the central Zagros. Variably known as Ara(n)ziash or the "area of the Upper River," it was incorporated into the province of Harhar during Sargon's 6th palû campaign.⁵² If the identification be allowed, we can perhaps assume that by 639 B.C. the Assyrian provincial system in the central Zagros had collapsed.

It would seem reasonable to infer that the crippling of the Elamite state must have had pronounced consequences in geopolitical terms in surrounding areas. The status of Ellipi is unknown in this period as there is not a single extant reference to it after the reign of Esarhaddon. If the state was still in existence in 639 B.C., the demise of Elam meant the loss of a once powerful ally. If no longer in existence, it had presumably succumbed to the rising power of Media.

Taking an overall view, it is important to note that two states in western Iran, Mannea in the north-west and Elam in the south-west, both enter phases of expansion and aggression at the beginning of this period. Mannea was checked while Elam, as a viable political entity, was destroyed. Extrapolation from the events of 615 B.C. onwards suggests strongly that the Medes profited most from this political vacuum.

By 615 B.C. the Median army was besieging Arrapha and, in the following year, the city of Ashur was captured by them. A scant two years later, in 612 B.C., Nineveh yielded to the combined onslaught of the Medes under Cyaxares and the Babylonians under Nabopolassar.⁵³ Concerning the developments in the Zagros mountains that led to the formation of the Median state and its rise to supremacy, the Neo-Assyrian sources are silent. Our only informant on those matters is Herodotus to whom we now turn.

Endnotes to chapter 5

1. The Heidel prism (IM 56578), dated to 694 B.C., covers the first to the fifth campaigns. Apart from a few variations, it is a duplicate of BM 103,000 (Luckenbill's cylinder, E1); A. Heidel, "The octagonal prism of Sennacherib in the Iraq Museum," Sumer, 9 (1953), pp. 117-188. The Taylor prism, dated to 691 B.C., covers the first to the eighth campaigns. Its account of the 2nd palû campaign was evidently derived from either the Heidel prism or BM 103,000; D.D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib, Oriental Institute Publications, 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), prism H1; hereafter, Luckenbill, OIP 2. The Oriental Institute prism also covers the first to the eighth campaigns but is dated to 689 B.C.; Luckenbill, OIP 2, H2. In considering the other available texts, namely the Bellino and Rassam cylinders and the Bull inscriptions, I have been guided by the discussion by L.D. Levine, "The Second Campaign of Sennacherib," JNES, 32 (1973), pp. 312ff. The Rassam cylinder which covers the first to the third campaigns and is dated to 700 B.C. is evidently derived from a conflation of the earlier Bellino cylinder and an as yet unknown source (X) which was independently derived from the Bellino cylinder. In turn, Levine argues that source X formed the basis for the Bull inscriptions which cover the first to the sixth campaigns and must therefore date to 694 B.C. or later.
2. For these equations, see Brinkman, PKB, p. 209 (land of the Kassites = Namri) and Levine, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 26 (Yasubigallai = Halman). The account of the 2nd palû begins in the Bellino Cylinder with line 20; see Luckenbill, OIP 2 (1924), pp. 58ff. (= Luckenbill's B1).
3. Luckenbill, OIP 2, p. 58, ll. 29ff. If such was the case, the policy is obviously reminiscent of Sargon II's actions in the Urartian provinces during his 8th palû campaign.
4. The Bellino cylinder merely notes that Bit Barrua was annexed. The Oriental Institute prism adds that Kar Sennacherib was repopulated with foreign deportees and included under the governorship of Harhar; Luckenbill, OIP 2, p. 29, ll. 29ff. One of the Elamite towns in Bit Barrua, Šiṣṣirtu, is probably to be connected with the town of ZI-ZI-ir-tum mentioned by Shu-Sin along with the town of Sigrish (cf. the Median town of Sikris) in an account of his campaign in the Zagros mountains at the end of the third millennium B.C.; see D.O. Edzard, "Neue inschriften zur Geschichte von Ur III unter Šūsuen," Afo, 19 (1959-60), p. 12, col. VIII.13-15 and p. 26.

5. The Nebi Yunus slab inscription records the storing of the tribute, tax, and wealth of the "distant Medes" in the rebuilt ekal māšarti in Nineveh; Luckenbill, OIP 2, H4, pp. 131f., ll. 86ff.
6. The Oriental Institute prism includes among the Elamite-Babylonian coalition at Halule "the lands of Parsuash, Anzan, Pasheru and Ellipi (and) the men of Lakabra, Harzunu ..."; Luckenbill, OIP 2, p. 43, ll. 43ff. Harzunu may be connected to Ha-ar-zi-a-nu, a Median tributary appearing in the Najafehabad stele of Sargon II's 6th palū campaign; see Levine, TNAS, p. 42, l. 62. Despite their claimed victory, the Assyrians apparently suffered a reverse at Halule, although they went on to win the war; see A.K. Grayson, "The Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription," AfO, 20 (1963), pp. 83ff. and also A.K. Grayson, "Problematical Battles in Mesopotamian History," Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger . . ., Assyriological Studies, 16 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 337ff.
7. On the problem of Parsuash and its location, see above, pp. 17ff.
8. For the Chronicle texts, see Grayson, ABC, pp. 82ff., ll. iii.38ff. (Babylonian Chronicle) and pp. 125ff., ll. 1ff. (Esarhaddon Chronicle). For the fragments of Esarhaddon's annals, see R. Borger, "Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (AfO Beiheft 9), Nachträge und Verbesserungen," AfO, 18 (1957-58), pp. 113-118.
9. Olmstead's discussion of the historiographic problems of the sources dealing with Esarhaddon's reign is still valuable; A.T.E. Olmstead, Assyrian Historiography (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1916), pp. 47ff. However, the most recent edition of most of the known texts is provided by R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956). Additional texts published since then are referred to whenever appropriate.
10. Royal correspondence from the reign of Esarhaddon is referred to in passing. The other major source of information is the omen texts; J.A. Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott . . . (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1893), hereafter AGS; and E.G. Klauber, Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1913), hereafter PRT. The date of these texts is very uncertain but they are usually attributed to the end of Esarhaddon's reign from 675 B.C. onwards. See, for example, the discussion by Diakonov who dates them to 675-673 B.C.; I.M. Diakonov, Istoria Medii (Moscow, 1956), p. 258. As many commentators have pointed out, the nature of these sources which are private enquiries by the king to the god, Shamash, is a strong argument for the historical reliability. Unfortunately, many are in an extremely fragmentary state and this factor, combined with their uncertain dating, limits their usefulness. For the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, dated to 672 B.C., see D.J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," Iraq, 20 (1958), pp. 1-99.

11. With the single exception of the campaign against Sidon, episodes in prism B are in strict chronological order insofar as they can be checked against the Babylonian Chronicle. It is argued, therefore, that the other episodes in the prism are also in proper chronological order. It should also be noted that, unlike prisms A and C, prism B shows no evidence of geographical organization. The Mannean campaign (B III.59-61) follows the Cimmerian episode of the 2nd palû (679 B.C.) and precedes the Bit Dakkuri episode of the 3rd palû (678 B.C.). The 2nd palû was an extremely busy one for the Assyrian army, involving action in the south-west against Arza and in the north-west against the Cimmerians in Hubushna and strongholds in Cilicia. The 3rd palû saw only action against the Bit Dakkuri in southern Mesopotamia and it is more likely that an additional campaign against Mannea would have been executed then. A less compelling reason for a 3rd palû date for the Mannean campaign is that following the capture of Sidon in the 4th palû, prisoners-of-war from "the eastern mountains and sea" were resettled there. It is possible that these deportees had been languishing in some transit area since before the 3rd palû but more likely that they came immediately from the previous year's campaign.

On similar grounds we may argue for a 5th palû (676 B.C.) date for the Median campaign. It follows the Sidon campaign of the 4th palû and the campaigns against Gambulu, Hazael and the Arabs, and precedes the campaign against Bazu (5th palû). If the sequence does have chronological and sequential significance, the 4th palû would have included the Sidon venture and perhaps the campaigns against Gambulu and the Arabs. To add a Median campaign to that year would surely overtax Assyrian capabilities. On the other hand, the Bazu campaign is the only military venture definitely known for the 5th palû and an additional campaign to the east in that year seems a reasonable proposition. That the Median campaign did not occur any later than this is assured by its mention in the Heidel prism dated to the 5th palû, the limmu year of Bamba. See A. Heidel, "A new hexagonal prism of Esarhaddon," Sumer, 12 (1956), pp. 9-37. For prism B, see the following note. For the Babylonian Chronicle, see n. 8 above.

12. R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), A III. 59-61 (= former prism B).
13. On the Scythians, see n. 36 below.

14. Wiseman suggests that Esarhaddon may have had sufficient control over Mannea after this venture to make further campaigning there unnecessary. He points to the Ziwiye treasure, often associated with the Mannéans and dated on art-historical grounds to the seventh century B.C., as an indication of peaceful trade relations between Mannea and Assyria at this time. However, he also allows that the brevity of Esarhaddon's claim to victory may indicate the inadequate basis for it; Wiseman, Iraq, 20 (1958), p. 10. The first suggestion is a possibility but, in view of the fact that Ashurbanipal refers to cities taken from Assyria by the Mannéans in the time of Esarhaddon, it is unlikely; ARAB, II, par. 852. Another factor is the frequent reference to hostile Mannéans in the omen texts of Esarhaddon; unless one dates all the texts mentioning Mannea to a time prior to the 3rd palu, one must reason that Mannea was not under Assyrian control. The Ziwiye treasure cannot be used as evidence of peaceful trade relations; we simply do not know how the treasure was amassed and how to date it, let alone to whom it belonged. It is a heterogeneous collection of objects, many of which may not be from the original trove at all; see O.W. Muscarella, "Unexpected Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (Malibu: Undena, 1977), pp. 153-207, especially pp. 184-185; and idem, "Ziwiye' and Ziwiye: The Forgery of a Provenience," JFA, 4 (1977), pp. 197-219.
15. See AGS, 41 which deals with a campaign against Mannea and the people of an unknown area. (See also AGS, 43 which is concerned with a campaign against the land of Si-ri-iš, an area not otherwise known. Esarhaddon is enquiring about likely opposition from the people of Siriš, the Mannéans, and others whose names are lost. This latter text may refer to Sikris, a Median town; see note 5 above, and Parpola, NAT, sub Sikris for references.
16. See ABL, 1237 (= SLA, 329). ^{lu} gududanu of rev. 15 which both Waterman and Pfeiffer take as the proper name of a people should evidently be understood to mean "a military detachment." See CAD, G, p. 120 sub gududu, and M. Dietrich, Die Aramäer Sudbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648 v. Chr.) (Neukirchen: AOAT, 7, 1970), p. 64. See G. Cameron, History of Early Iran (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 174 for the suggestion that this letter relates to a later attempt to regain Mannea. The contention is unsupported by any evidence.
17. AGS, 1, 8, 11a+b, 12, 15, 31, 34+81 (= PRT, 38), 36, 75+23; PRT, 38. One other source may suggest a connection between the Cimmerians and Mannea proper. This is an omen text, AGS, 24, which refers to the Cimmerians (obv. 2) and also Ahsheri (obv. 4: Ah-šī-rī). Presumably the latter is the Ahsheri who is known to have been king of Mannea at least in the reign of Ashurbanipal. The text of the omen is extremely fragmentary, however, and one cannot establish the nature of the connection between the two parties. In addition, the omen cannot be dated; Knudtzon ascribes it to Esarhaddon on the basis of a rather circular argument, viz. that the Cimmerians are never mentioned in the sources from the reign of Ashurbanipal; Knudtzon, AGS, 24.

18. See ABL, 1007, obv. 14 and rev. 22; the writer is evidently suggesting that a governor be put on the throne of the Indaraya: bēl paḥati in muḥḥi is kussi šá Indaraya. This letter definitely dates from the reign of Ashurbanipal whom it specifically mentions (obv. 13 and rev. 23).

19. ABL, 165. The offense, the theft of some horses, is relatively minor. The other letter, ABL, 434, concerns the apprehension of refugees from the areas named and their prompt despatch to Ashurbanipal, the crown prince, for questioning.

After careful scrutiny, ABL, 1109 which concerns the land of Man-nu-a-a and is often associated with Mannea, has been eliminated from consideration. See Pfeiffer, SLA, pp. 221-222 and Parpola, NAT, p. 237 where it is assumed that the reference is to Mannea. A number of curious features to the letter suggest that it is better understood in a southern Babylonian context.

20. AGS, 35, obv. 5ff. and rev. 9ff. Cf. other references to Hubushkia in AGS, 38-40.

21. AGS, 19. It is not always clear whether such enquiries are concerned with projected expeditions or ones which are already under way. See also the reference to Dur Enlil in AGS, 20. PRT, 10 is a similar letter concerning a city of unknown name located on the Mannean border.

22. For the Ashurbanipal reference, see n. 40 below. For the location of Paddiri in Allabria, see ARAB, I, par. 716.

23. ABL, 61, 165, 394, and 1379.

24. R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), A IV.32-45 (= former prism B).

25. The location of these toponyms is not known. Diakonov connects Partakka and Partukka with the later Achaemenid province of Parthia, which is rather unlikely in the framework of the historical geography used here; I.M. Diakonov, Istoria Medii (Moscow, 1956), p. 263. Cameron suggests modern Isfahan which is equally unlikely; G. Cameron, History of Early Iran (Chicago, 1936), pp. 173f. The two toponyms may be plausibly associated with the Parataceni, one of the Median "tribes" united by Deioces; Herodotus, I.101. This does not really help us to establish a specific location except in the general area of Hamadan, the centre of Deioces' kingdom. Urakazabarna also occurs in vassal treaty ND 4327 as U-ra-ka-za-ba-nu; Wiseman, Iraq, 20 (1958), p. 82.

26. It may be significant that the author of the Heidel prism who composed his text very shortly after this campaign occurred, places the Patusharra incident before the relief of Partakka etc. suggesting there was no strict cause-and-effect relationship between the two incidents; see Heidel, Sumer, 12 (1956), p. 24.53ff. for Patusharra and col. IV.1 ff. for the rest of the Median venture. On the location of Patusharra and Bikni, see above, pp. 19ff.
27. References to Kashtaritu occur in AGS, 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11a+b, 12, 15 and in PRT, 2, 6, 12-14. Both the PN and the GN occur only in the omen texts. The prefixed Kār reflects the Assyrian practice of renaming conquered cities with this formula. Accordingly, "The Quay of the Kassites" may formerly have had another name. A location in Media is usually assumed because of the associated toponyms but chiefly as a result of the suggested identification of Kashtaritu with Phraortes, the second of Herodotus' Median kings. References to Kaššu as a land are sparse in Neo-Assyrian records. In some cases there is not even a general indication of the toponym's location (e.g. KB, I, 194.10; AKA, 351.17; VAB, 7, 208.3) while occurrences in astrological texts have evidently assumed only symbolic value; R. Campbell Thompson, Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon, Vol. II (London: Luzac, 1903), 217.9; 232.5; 250.6; 250A.2; 251.2. The numerous references to KUR Kašši or KUR lu Kašši in various inscriptions of Sennacherib all relate to the 2nd palû campaign "against the land of the Kassites and Yasubigalli, i.e. Namri and Halman respectively. See Brinkman, PKB, p. 209. In short, if any area can be recognized as Kassite, or Kassite-influenced, it is Namri: However, it should be recalled that during Shalmaneser III's 16th palû campaign in Allabria, we encounter a king with a Kassite name, Janziburiash. These fragments of evidence militate against, but do not disprove, a Median location for Kar Kašši.
28. AGS, 1, 2, 5, 8 (= PRT, 4), 11a, 11b (= PRT, 7), 12 (= PRT, 1) and 15 (= PRT, 8). My thanks to Prof. A.K. Grayson for this observation.
29. Kishesim (AGS, 1) was the focus of an Assyrian province established by Sargon II in his 6th palû campaign; ARAB, II, par. 10. It would appear to have been located near Harhar.
30. PRT, 38, obv. 2ff. and rev. 2ff. (Parsumash) and AGS 36, obv. 4-5 (Bit Hamban).
31. AGS, 52 records an alliance between Urnimria, son of PN, and Tuni of GN; for Tuni of Elpa (= Ellipi?), see the vassal treaties below. AGS, 72, is an enquiry about the fate of Šiṣṣirtu, a fortress on the borders of Ellipi belonging to the province of Harhar. Has it been taken and plundered, asks the king? An omen text (AGS, 34+81 = PRT 22) authored by Ashurbanipal, while still crown prince, concerns the safety of an expedition to capture a city in the vicinity of Ellipi. Will they be attacked by the Ellipians, the (Manneans?), the Medes, and the Cimmerians?

32. See AGS, 30-33. In AGS, 30 the bēl pāhati of Bit Kari and Saparda is off collecting horse tribute in a district of Media. Esarhaddon fears an attack by the Scythians and others. In AGS, 31 the Mannaeans are named as a potential threat to a similar horse collection expedition to Media. AGS, 33 (= PRT 21) concerns a horse tribute collection in the extreme east; the city of Antarpati is mentioned along with the salt desert, the land of Karzitali and other broken toponyms, and the name of Epārna. For Antarpati, cf. Andirpatianu which presented tribute to Sargon II in Parsua; TCL, III.48. For Karzitali, see Burdada of Karzitali of the vassal treaties.
33. See Wiseman, Iraq, 20 (1958), pp. 1ff. For convenience I continue to refer to these documents as "vassal treaties" although Gelb has noted that technically they are not treaties and they do not involve vassalage; I.J. Gelb, "Review of Wiseman, Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon," Bib.Or., 19 (1962), pp. 159ff. I am indebted to Prof. A.K. Grayson for this observation. Two of the copies have lost the PN and GN of the vassals and one other was enclosed with the ruler of the land of Izaia, otherwise unknown. The Rassam Cylinder of Ashurbanipal which describes the assembly allows one to assume that similar oaths of allegiance were concluded with rulers from all over the empire; see ARAB, II, par. 766. The documents are dated to 672 B.C.
34. Wiseman, Iraq, 20 (1958), p. 13.
35. AGS, 52 simply observes that Tuni has concluded a treaty with another individual but does not make it clear whether the intent of the treaty is hostile to Assyrian interests. Even if that was the case, there are many recorded instances of rebellious vassals having been reinstated by Assyrian kings and AGS, 52 could therefore be earlier than 672 B.C. when Tuni appears in the vassal treaties.
36. On the Scythians in Iran, see the discussion by Young, Iran, 5 (1967), p. 20; and n. 62 where Young suggests that the Scythians were a military force to be reckoned with on the basis of the willingness of Esarhaddon to marry one of his daughters to Bartatua, king of the land of the Scythians (see PRT, 16; AGS, 29). Brinkman has noted the difficulty in perceiving in such unions any uniform vassal or suzerainty relationships; all that such marital alliances show is that at one point in time, amicable relationships existed between the two parties and that there was some interest in maintaining this situation. See Brinkman, PKB, p. 142 and n. 856. A similar alliance was concluded between Sargon II who gave his daughter to Ambaris of Tabal; ARAB, II, par. 25, 55. Ambaris subsequently defected to the Urartian side and was promptly conquered by Sargon in his 9th palū. However, no historical commentator has interpreted Sargon's gift of his daughter to this minor king as evidence of any significant military power in Tabal.

37. A slaughter of Cimmerians in Shubuhnu, perhaps to be located in or equated with Hubushkia, is recorded in the Esarhaddon Chronicle for year 2; see Grayson, ABC, p. 125.9. See also prism B III.43ff. in R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), p. 51. Further references to the Cimmerians may be found in ABL, 112, 1026, 1161, 1168, and 1391. See also C.H.W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents . . ., Vol. I (Cambridge, 1898), 364 (K.341), a contract dated to 679 B.C. that documents the hire of Cimmerian troops by Assyria.
38. Grayson, ABC, p. 127, l. 27 (Esarhaddon Chronicle) and p. 86, l. 29 (Babylonian Chronicle). See also S. Parpola, "A Letter From Šamaš-šumu-ukīn to Esarhaddon," Iraq, 34 (1972), p. 34 and nn.68-69.
39. Urartu is not mentioned in the sources during the reign of Sennacherib. In 673 B.C., Esarhaddon conquered Shupria and repatriated Urartian refugees whom Rusa of Urartu had previously and unsuccessfully tried to extradite; R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), p. 106, Gbr. II, III, ll. 28ff. Ashurbanipal refers to Urartian overtures of peace made to his predecessors; R. Campbell Thompson, LAAA, 20 (1933), p. 87, ll. 121-123 (Ishtar temple inscription). Further cooperation between Urartu and Assyria is recorded for Ashurbanipal's reign. For the early part of Esarhaddon's reign, Assyria's relationship with Elam was ambiguous and an Elamite attack on Sippar had to be beaten back in 675 B.C. However, in the following year, the return of Ishtar of Agade and other gods from Elam suggests some degree of diplomatic understanding between the two countries; Grayson, ABC, p. 84, ll. 17-18 (Babylonian Chronicle) and p. 126, ll. 21-22 (Esarhaddon Chronicle). See also, R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), pp. 58f., prism B V.26-33a, where Esarhaddon records the submission of the Elamites and Gutī who had sent emissaries to Nineveh.
40. For prism B, see A.C. Piepkorn, Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, I, Assyriological Studies, 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), pp. 50ff., iii, 16ff.; hereafter, AS, 5. See also Thompson, Iraq, 7 (1940), p. 104, fragment no. 25, col. B, ll. 15ff., a duplicate of no. 24, col. B, ll. 2ff., restoring prism B, iii, 16-24. The campaign is not mentioned in prism E which can be dated no later than 667 B.C. Unfortunately, there is a twenty year gap in the extant records before we reach the next edition of the annals, prism B. Two fragments of this edition are dated to 649 and 648 B.C. respectively. Prism B places the Mannea-Media campaign in Ashurbanipal's 5th palû while the even later editions place it in the 3rd (editions F, F2) or 4th (edition A) palû; see AS, 5, pp. 50-51. Normally, one would tend to accept the earliest edition as authoritative but it is clear that in prism B the sequence of campaigns has already undergone editorial re-arrangement. The accession year campaign against Kirbit on the Elamite border which the Babylonian Chronicle dates to Ashurbanipal's accession year appears

as the 4th palu campaign in prism B. Consequently the date of the Mannean campaign must be left open with the understanding that it probably took place within the first half-dozen years of Ashurbanipal's reign.

See also AGS, 150-151, omen texts from the reign of Ashurbanipal concerned with military operations against Mannea. Unfortunately, neither text supplies any useful information.

41. Apart from the Mannean capital, Izirtu, and the Mannean city of UzbMa, none of the cities mentioned in the text can be confidently associated with previously known toponyms; for Izirtu and UzbMa/Izibia, see ARAB, II, par. 56. There are two possible exceptions. Busutu, conquered on the way to Izirtu, resembles the Bushtu which Shalmaneser III. located in Parsua; ARAB, I, par. 588. Cf. also the central Zagros toponym, Bustus, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III (ARAB, I, pars. 795 and 811) and the Bustis referred to by Sargon II (ARAB, II, par. 23). One of the Mannean districts mentioned, Eristeyana, can be compared to Erishtana, a Median town encountered by Sargon II; ARAB, II, par. 58. If these identifications are correct, this implies that Mannea had not only taken over Allabria but had also encroached on Parsua and Media.
42. The location of these Assyrian frontier fortresses is unknown. One of them, Sharru-iqbi, is mentioned in AGS, 16 and also in ND 2664; for the latter, see B. Parker, "Administrative Tablets from the North-West Palace, Nimrud," Iraq, 23 (1961), p. 42, l. 6. Neither reference provides any locational information.
43. Piepkorn, AS, 5, pp. 54-57, B iii.82-iv.2.
44. The Median section of the campaign begins, "At that time . . ."; Piepkorn, AS, 5, B iv.3. Presumably, the phrase refers back to the end of the Mannean campaign and not to the immediately preceding account of Ualli's accession which took place at some undetermined time after Ahsheri's defeat.
45. The conflict is recorded in the fifth year of the annals in prism B; Piepkorn, AS, 5, B iv.9-17.
46. See J. Reade, "Elam and Elamites in Assyrian Sculpture," AMI.NE, 9 (1976), p. 100 and pl. 22.2 for the relief depicting Ashurbanipal presenting two Elamite nobles to Urartian ambassadors sent by Rusa of Urartu. The epigraph to the relief is published in ARAB, II, par. 1035. Sarduri or Urartu also made diplomatic overtures to Ashurbanipal; Thompson, LAAA, 20 (1933), p. 87, ll. 121 ff. The Urartian kings in question were either Rusa II or III and Sarduri III or IV; on the problems of the Urartian royal succession in this period, see M. Salvini, "Geschichtlicher Abriss," in Urartu, Ein wiederentdeckter Rivale Assyriens (Munich, 1976), ed. H.-J. Kellner, pp. 11ff. and especially p. 15.

47. For Mannean participation at Gablini, see Grayson, ABC, p. 91, l. 5.
48. The Lydian reference is to the famous Gyges episode; Piepkorn, AS, 5, pp. 46f. (prism B ii.93ff.). The second reference involves Mugallu, of Tabal, an Assyrian vassal who had entered into negotiations with the Cimmerian T/Dugdammē; ARAB, II, par. 1001, and Thompson, LAAA, 20 (1933), pp. 88-89, 96-97, ll. 138-162.
49. For discussion of the Scythian rule over Media, see ch. 6.
50. For accounts of this period of Elamite history, see Cameron, HEI, pp. 185ff. and W. Hinz, Das Reich Elam (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964), pp. 126ff.
51. ARAB, II, pars. 805ff. It is at this time that we have our first unmistakable historical reference to the Persians. Following the conquest of Elam, Cyrus, king of Parsumash which is described by Ashurbanipal as being "on the far side of Elam," sent his eldest son, Arukku, to Nineveh with tribute; Thompson, LAAA, 20 (1933), p. 86, ll. 115ff. and E. Weidner, "Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus. Kyros I. ein Zeitgenosse Aššurbanaplis," Afo, 7 (1931), p. 4, ll. 7ff.
52. ARAB, II, par. 816.
53. For the Fall of Nineveh Chronicle, see Grayson, ABC, pp. 90ff.

CHAPTER 6

HERODOTUS' ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF THE MEDIAN STATE

The major thrust of this study to this point has been to document the activities of the Neo-Assyrians in the Zagros. Of necessity this has involved an almost exclusive reliance on epigraphic material from the Assyrians themselves. In turning now to a consideration of the history of Media, another historical source must be evaluated, that of Herodotus.¹ It is usual for scholars dealing with the seventh century B.C. in the Zagros to attempt to interweave these two sources; that I have not done so here requires some explanation.

Strictly speaking, as contemporary documents the Neo-Assyrian sources would take primacy in any reconstruction of the early history of Media. We can only lament the fact that the Assyrians took with them on their annual campaigns no Tacitus capable of writing the equivalent of his Germania, a vivid ethnographic account of the Celtic chieftains being overrun by the Roman conquest. Instead, we are obliged to infer the pattern of events and processes from the Neo-Assyrian annals, royal inscriptions and correspondence, imperfect lenses through which a picture of Median society and its development has been refracted and diffused. Yet, even allowing for the differing priorities of the Assyrians, the lack of overlap in substance and detail between their accounts of the Medes and that of Herodotus has taxed the ingenuity of scholars for generations.

The early history of the Medes, as it is known from Herodotus, can be summarized briefly.² Following 520 years of Assyrian imperial rule in Upper Asia, the Medes rebelled and won their independence. At this time, a Median named Deioces, a man of some standing in his own village, had acquired considerable fame among his countrymen for his impartial settling of disputes. Seeking to profit from the respect with which he was regarded, Deioces withdrew his services as a judge, pleading neglect of his own affairs. Confronted by an increasingly lawless situation and suddenly deprived of the famous arbiter, an assembly of Medes resolved to appoint a king. Deioces, the obvious choice, accepted the position on condition that he be provided with all the trappings of royal power, a personal bodyguard, a court and a palace in Ecbatana. In this manner, the six Median tribes (the Busae, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii and Magi) were united under a centralized monarchy. At his death, after an inordinately long reign of fifty-three years, Deioces was succeeded by his son, Phraortes.

During the latter's twenty-two years as king, Median dominion was extended first over the Persians and subsequently over other parts of Asia. Ultimately this brought the Medes into collision with the Assyrians who, though they "stood alone by the revolt and desertion of their allies" (I. 102), defeated and killed Phraortes.

To avenge his father's death, Cyaxares reorganized the Median tribal levy into functional companies of archers, cavalry and spear-men and renewed the attack on Assyria. Initial success led to a siege of Nineveh but the Medes were defeated by the Scythians who, under their king Madyes, son of Protothyes, had swept into Asia in

pursuit of the Cimmerians. According to Herodotus, these Scythians ravaged Asia for twenty-eight years before Cyaxares had their leaders murdered in an Al Capone-style banquet.³ Having regained their freedom, the Medes successfully defeated the Assyrians and, after a reign of forty years, a period including the Scythian interregnum, Cyaxares was succeeded by his son, Astyages who ruled for a further thirty-five years before being conquered by the Persians under Cyrus II in 550/49 B.C.

Using the Herodotean royal chronology and working backwards from the synchronism in the Nabonidus Chronicle for the end of Astyages' reign, allows us to reconstruct the following:⁴

King	Length of reign	Dates
Deioces	53 years	700/699 - 647/646 B.C.)
Phraortes	22 years	647/646 - 625/624 B.C.
Cyaxares	40 years	625/ 24 - 585/584 B.C.
Astyages	35 years	585/584 - 550/549 B.C.

Herodotus therefore describes the relatively rapid evolution of a centralized monarchy in Media beginning at the end of the eighth century B.C. and the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle confirms this development with reference to Cyaxares, the Median king, in the closing decades of the seventh century B.C. This picture contrasts markedly with that of the Neo-Assyrian sources. Before examining the reasons for this glaring discrepancy, it is useful to summarize briefly what we learn of the Medes from the Assyrian documents.

A major result of this lengthy and detailed analysis of Neo-Assyrian activities in the Zagros is a surprisingly static view of the Medes. Over a period of some two centuries of contact there are in the Neo-Assyrian sources no apparent shifts in Median settlement or socio-political organization. From the time of first contact in the late ninth century B.C. Medes are solidly ensconced in the central Zagros from the Mahidasht/Kermanshah area eastwards. There is nothing in these early accounts to suggest that the Medes or other Iranian elements were relative newcomers to the region. Instead, the impression one gains from the admittedly slim evidence is that Median settlement is extensive and entrenched. The later Neo-Assyrian documents do not provide evidence that this settlement pattern underwent any radical change.

Similarly, the Assyrian sources fail to reveal an awareness of the socio-political evolution transforming Median society into a nation-state. Throughout, the Assyrians depict Median socio-political organization as based on small, fragmented polities usually comprising, as far as we can determine, a single town and perhaps some surrounding villages. The ethnic homogeneity of these political units is unknown. Larger confederations of Medes, transcending the individual polity, are not mentioned in Neo-Assyrian sources. Even when the nature of Median opposition is of vital concern, as in the Esarhaddon omen texts, there are no references to an overarching political authority.

Confronted with these two radically different pictures, scholars have tried to reconcile them in two ways, by attempting to establish synchronisms and by invoking arguments concerning differing

priorities. Deioces, for example, has been equated with Daiaukku, the rebellious Mannean governor deported by Sargon II in 715 B.C., despite much contradictory evidence.⁵ Similarly, Phraortes has been identified with Kashtaritu of Kar Kašši in the reign of Esarhaddon.⁶ In each case, this has involved considerable revision of the Herodotean royal chronology accompanied by skilful, but not very convincing, argumentation. To be sure, the priorities of the Neo-Assyrian scribes were not those of Herodotus but the appearance of a centralized monarchy among the Medes could scarcely have left the Assyrians unconcerned, particularly if the phenomenon was taking place in an area under their actual or nominal control. It could also be argued that these political developments either did not take place, or did not become evident to the Assyrians, until the latter half of the seventh century B.C., a period when the Neo-Assyrian sources provide us with virtually no information whatsoever on the eastern mountains. However, to hold this viewpoint involves either the downplaying of the Herodotean version or revision of the royal chronology or both.⁷

It is important that the reason for this scholastic dilemma be made quite explicit. As long as scholars are committed to a historical geography that carries the Assyrians deep into the Iranian plateau and places the Hamadan area under their control, the discrepancy between the two bodies of historical data demands explanation. With the revised historical geography adopted here, that the Assyrians never effectively penetrated east of the Alvand alignment, the imperative to reconcile the Neo-Assyrian and the Herodotean accounts is removed. The implicit assumption that both sources are concerned

with the same Medes can be seen to be invalid. Thus the political developments in Ecbatana took place in an area just to the east of Assyrian provincial and tributary territories and consequently do not figure in Neo-Assyrian sources of the seventh century B.C. The search for synchronisms becomes an exercise in futility. This explanation has the advantage of preserving the integrity of both the contemporary Neo-Assyrian sources and the secondary and later history of Herodotus.

Given this fresh perspective, it is quite likely that Deioces did indeed form a kingdom centred on Ecbatana sometime towards the end of the eighth century B.C. and that he enjoyed a long reign, free of Assyrian rule, during which the kingdom was consolidated. The major achievement of his successor, Phraortes, seems to have been that of inaugurating a phase of Median expansion. If Herodotus is correct in his assertion that the first victims were the Persians in Fars, then we must probably date this phase after the fall of Elam in 639 B.C. and the reference to Cyrus as an Assyrian tributary. Such an argument tends to confirm the Herodotean chronology which brings Phraortes to the throne ca. 647 B.C. Presumably the subsequent phase of Median expansion included areas to the west of Ecbatana that had formerly been Assyrian provinces and tributary polities.⁸

Further confirmation of this chronological framework is provided by Herodotus' assertion that Phraortes was defeated by the Assyrians at a time when the latter were bereft of allies and beset by rebellion. The year 627/626 B.C. was one of general disaffection within the empire, most notably with the revolts of Nabopolassar in

Babylonia and Josiah in Judaea and the loss of the cities of Phoenicia. Moreover, in the difficult circumstances following these events, it is conceivable that Cyaxares could in fact have besieged Nineveh, something that could scarcely have taken place at any earlier stage in the seventh century B.C. The Scythian allies of Assyria provided temporary relief for the beleaguered state and forced a Median withdrawal. It is possible that the Scythians did rule Media for a number of years but more probable that they did no more than keep it effectively impotent. However, by at least as early as 615 B.C. Cyaxares had regained full control and was once more on the offensive.

While the actual course of events was undoubtedly much more complex than this bare outline, it can be seen that there is no sound reason to doubt the essentials of Herodotus' history of Media or its basic chronology with the exception of the nature and duration of the Scythian episode. This brief consideration of the problems associated with the Herodotean history of the Medes brings us to the end of the historical narrative. The analysis of the objectives of Assyrian imperialism in the Zagros and the explanation of the rise of the Median state in Ecbatana must be postponed while the archaeological data are reviewed and the thorny issue of the Iron Age sequence in western Iran is tackled.

Endnotes to chapter 6

1. Herodotus, I. 95ff.
2. More detailed consideration of the various chronological and historical problems associated with the early history of the Medes can be found inter alia in R.N. Frye, The Heritage of Persia (London, 1962), pp. 56ff and T.C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," Iran, 5 (1967), pp. 11ff.
3. While the Scythian story obviously has some foundation in fact, there is reason to believe that it has also been grossly distorted. A twenty-eight year rule over the Medes is difficult to reconcile with other known chronological evidence (see next note) and the picture of the Scythians wreaking havoc throughout the Near East is not confirmed by any other historical source, Jeremiah's allegories notwithstanding. That the Assyrians used the Scythians to temporarily defeat the Medes is quite likely. Madyes' father, Protothyes, is very probably to be identified with B/Partatua who took a daughter of Esarhaddon in marriage; see A.T.E. Olmstead, History of Assyria (Chicago, 1951), p. 360. However, it also seems likely that this event was, in the course of time, overinflated. Although the history of Media in Herodotus is apparently provided only as a prelude to the biography of Cyrus the Great, it should not go unnoticed that the Scythian domination of the Medes is fundamentally important to Herodotus' polemical hypothesis concerning the origins of Greek-Asiatic conflict and it may therefore have assumed an importance in argument that it never had in reality.
4. The Herodotean royal chronology cannot be accepted uncritically. Two major problems exist: First, the various notices given by Herodotus are internally inconsistent. We are told that the Median "empire over the parts of Asia beyond the Halys had lasted 128 years, except during the time when the Scythians had dominion" (I. 130). Since only 150 years elapsed between the accession of Deioces and the defeat of Astyages, subtracting twenty-eight years of Scythian rule from that figure leaves us six years short of 128 years. The second problem concerns the length of the Scythian supremacy over the Medes. According to the Herodotean chronology, Cyaxares must have come to the throne ca. 625 B.C. We know, however, from the Fall of Nineveh Chronicle that Cyaxares was acting independently as early as 615 B.C. when the Medes attacked Arraphu; Grayson, ABC, p. 92.23. Obviously, this leaves only ten years into which we must fit the Scythian period.

5. There is nothing to commend the identification of Deioces with Daiaukku other than a common name. Daiaukku, while he may have been Iranian, was definitely a Mannean governor, probably of the province of Uishdish, whereas Deioces was a Median king ruling from Ecbatana. According to Herodotus, Deioces would have come to the throne ca. 700 B.C. to reign for the subsequent fifty-three years whereas Daiaukku had been deported some fifteen years earlier. Nevertheless, several scholars have supported the identification; see R.N. Frye, The Heritage of Persia (1962), pp. 70-71; A.T.E. Olmstead, History of Assyria (1951), p. 209; and W. Culican, The Medes and the Persians (1965), p. 44. The occurrence of three Median city chiefs named Mashdaiaukku/Mashdakku among the tributaries of Sargon's 8th palû campaign shows that the name was not uncommon, at least as a compound element.
6. The Phraortes/Kashtaritu equation is unlikely for several reasons. Frye suggests that Kashtaritu (O.P. Khshathrita) was a throne name but fails to explain why he should be identified as the ruler of Kar Kašši while Phraortes ruled in Ecbatana; see Frye, The Heritage of Persia (1962), p. 72 and n. 28. There are also chronological objections. Kashtaritu was active in the 670's B.C. while Phraortes, according to Herodotus, did not come to the throne until ca. 647 B.C. In addition, the latter conquered the Persians in Fars, an event that must in all probability have taken place after 639 B.C. It is difficult to believe that the Medes could have accomplished the subjugation of the Persians before the fall of Elam and, in any case, Cyrus I became a tributary of Ashurbanipal in 639 B.C. R. Labat, "Kaštariti, Phraorte et les débuts de l'histoire mède," Journal Asiatique, 149 (1961):1-12 questions the identification of the two figures while E. Cavaignac, "A propos du début de l'histoire des Mèdes," Journal Asiatique, 149 (1961), pp. 153-162 is not sure that the identification should be rejected.
7. This is not to suggest that we should treat the Herodotean account of Median history with anything but caution. Many aspects of it seem fanciful and it was written down some two centuries after the events it purports to describe by one with no first-hand knowledge of the real geopolitical and cultural situation. It is evidently based on the oral testimony of refugee Persians in Greece and a number of alternative versions were known to Herodotus (I. 95).
8. The participation of Aranziash, once part of the province of Harhar, in the Elamite coalition against Ashurbanipal in 639 B.C. testifies to Assyrian loss of control in the central Zagros. The fall of Elam would have deprived Aranziash, and other polities in a similar situation, of a powerful ally and would have left them vulnerable to absorption by the nascent Median state.

CHAPTER 7

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE IRON AGE OF WESTERN IRAN

Previous attempts to outline a cultural sequence for the Iron Age of western Iran as a whole have encountered unavoidable difficulties due to the relative lack of stratified archaeological sequences, the paucity of reliable survey data, and the generally fractious nature of the archaeological evidence for this span of time. The first systematic paradigm of the Iron Age cultural sequence of western Iran appeared in 1965 in the first of two interrelated articles by Young. The study focussed almost exclusively on the available ceramic evidence.¹ The stratified sequence at Hasanlu provided the linchpin for a comparative stratigraphy.

Insofar as it was possible, careful reassessments were made of the Iron Age ceramic corpora and internal stratigraphy of a number of other sites, but in no case was there independent corroboration of the Hasanlu sequence, which thus became the sole basis for erecting a framework into which materials from other sites throughout western Iran could be fitted.² In his pioneering synthesis, Young postulated the existence of three basic and sequential ceramic traditions within the Iron Age of western Iran. These were described as the Early Western Grey Ware Horizon, the Late Western Grey Ware Horizon, and the Late Buff Ware Horizon.

The Early Western Grey Ware Horizon, the first of Young's broad divisions, marks a radical cultural shift from preceding Late Bronze Age traditions, at least at Hasanlu. The horizon was defined as a

common ceramic tradition characterized by a mixture of plain grey and buff ware and by the rare and qualitatively limited occurrence of painted ware.³

Three principal assemblages, Hasanlu V, Sialk V and Giyan I⁴ - I³, are linked by the common occurrence of five ceramic type shapes that define the period. In addition, three distinctive vessel shapes (simple cups with handles, jars with freestanding spouts, and pedestal base goblets) occur at two other sites, Khurvin/Chandar and Geoy Tepe B.

The material culture of Hasanlu V differs markedly from that of the preceding Bronze Age levels. It is in period V that we see the inception of a distinctive type of columned hall architecture that continues and develops in period IV.⁴ As yet there is no evidence for the construction of fortifications in this period at Hasanlu or any other site. There is very little evidence for the use of iron.⁵ Burial practices generally consist of simple inhumations in cemeteries. The most striking characteristic of the period as a whole is its broad cultural unity, particularly in ceramics.

Excavation and limited survey evidence suggested that Iron I pottery was to be found over "much but not all of western Iran."⁶ Its presence on the central plateau is documented at Sialk V and in a modified form on the Caspian foreshore at Marlik. In Azerbaijan Iron I grey wares are to be found in the Solduz (Hasanlu V) and Ushnu (Dinkha Tepe) valleys as well as on both east and west shores of Lake

Urmia (Yanik Tepe and Geoy Tepe respectively). In central-west Iran survey and excavation have identified Iron I grey wares in the Assadabad, Kangavar, Nehavand (Giyān) and Borujerd valleys in addition to a number of sites on the Hamadan Plain and along the north-east face of the Alvand alignment. Of equal importance are those areas that do not yield good evidence of Iron I grey wares. These areas included central-west Iran west of the Kangavar Valley, western Luristan, Kurdistan west of the Alvand alignment, and the area north of Lake Urmia.

Within the Late Buff Ware Horizon two regional subgroups were perceived. The northern sites of Hasanlu III, Ziwiye, and the Zendan formed one such group, while the southern sites of Achaemenid Village II-III, Persepolis and Pasargadae made up the other. Specific shape parallels between Hasanlu III and Achaemenid Village II-III provided the link between the two groups. In addition, a number of Late Assyrian ceramic parallels from Nimrud were established for Hasanlu III and Ziwiye. The general characteristic of a dominant buff ware tradition gave the horizon a unity not unlike that of the Early Grey Ware Horizon.⁷

The transition from Hasanlu IV to IIIB shows evidence of both cultural continuity and discontinuity. The well-planned complex of buildings of period IVB are followed by a squatters' occupation in IVA and then there is an hiatus of unknown duration in the occupation of the site. The period IIIB architectural remains differ radically from the preceding columned halls. Instead we find a monumental fortification wall encircling the site and having on its inner face

numerous small rooms. Buff ware, sometimes painted or incised usually with a hanging triangle motif and red polished wares displace the former grey ware but some characteristic forms from Hasanlu V and IV continue to appear.

Hardest to define coherently was the Late Western Grey Ware Horizon. Described as falling "typologically and chronologically between the Early Western Grey Ware Horizon and the Late Buff Ware Horizon;" the cultural unity of this period was a matter of considerable doubt. At Hasanlu itself there is essential continuity between periods V and IV.⁸ The architecture of period IV is more elaborate in plan and execution but is still clearly based on the columned hall plan. A new architectural feature of the period at Hasanlu is a large fortification wall with a complex gateway system. There is no unequivocal evidence for the introduction of fortifications at other sites in this period, although such has been suggested for both Sialk and Giyan.⁹

There is considerable innovation in the ceramic repertoire of Hasanlu IV but, in the main, the pottery continues the earlier grey ware tradition. Jars with bridged spouts are particularly diagnostic. Also notable is the strong Assyrian influence evident in the non-ceramic artifacts from Hasanlu IV.¹⁰ Evidence for essential cultural continuity is less obvious at such sites as Giyan and Sialk and less arguable since both are unstratified. Ceramic interconnections between sites of this period are few. Indeed, parallels in metal artifacts are more numerous and iron comes into widespread use.¹¹ Burials continue to be in cemeteries.

Pointing to the difficulty of demonstrating interconnections between Iron II sites on a level similar to the preceding and succeeding periods, Young suggested that the Late Western Grey Ware Horizon be best understood as representing a time of considerable ceramic diversity in western Iran, a period during which regional traditions previously masked by a dominant Iron I cultural horizon, once more came to the fore. Because of this regionalism, surface survey was of extremely limited value for establishing occupations of this range but parallels at Hasanlu IV, Geoy Tepe A (in part), Sialk IV, Dinkha Tepe, Yanik Tepe, Giyan I¹ (and possibly I² in part) and probably Marlik suggested a cultural range as extensive as that of the Iron I period.

While having the advantage of being descriptive, the terminology proposed by Young was cumbersome and was almost immediately superseded by a more convenient Iron I-III division. In a highly informed but rather freewheeling discussion, Dyson outlined the Hasanlu sequence from the late second millennium down through the first half of the first millennium B.C.¹² From this vantage point Dyson reviewed the problems of the Iron Age, both archaeological and historical. Theoretically and methodologically the work differs somewhat from Young's earlier study.

Whereas Young had consciously attempted to avoid over-reliance on the unique Hasanlu sequence, an obviously difficult task, Dyson avowedly accords a central position to Hasanlu in his treatment of comparative stratigraphical problems. Recently analyzed finer distinctions within periods IV and III at the site allowed him to

suggest further subdivisions within Young's general paradigm. In addition, Dyson reviewed categories of evidence, including many objects without archaeological provenience from uncontrolled excavations and surface finds, other than ceramics, virtually the sole focus of Young's study. Labouring with these varied materials and the difficulties of correlating them, differing results might have been predicted.

With respect to the first part of the Iron Age sequence, there is basic agreement. For Young's Early Western Grey Ware terminology Dyson suggests the slightly modified "Early Monochrome Grey Ware," in addition to the more convenient Iron I. Both authors concur on the assemblages to be included in this period with Dyson adding material from Tash Tepe, Yanik Tepe, and Marlik (in part).

As might be expected, the heterogeneous nature of the Late Western Grey Ware Horizon allowed for alternative interpretation. As a whole the period is called Iron II by Dyson and characterized by "Late Monochrome Grey Ware."

Basing his conclusions on the Hasanlu IV stratigraphy, Dyson introduces a bipartite division, Iron IIA corresponding to Hasanlu IVC, the early building period of level IV, and Iron IIB covering Hasanlu IVB, the main period IV occupation, as well as the later squatters' level of IVA.¹³

For both scholars Hasanlu IV is the prime site of the period and there is agreement on the inclusion of some material from Geoy Tepe A. On the basis of the occurrence of a limited amount of grey ware within a more abundant buff ware assemblage at the Zendan, Dyson

suggests the possibility of an early phase at this site that should be correlated with his Iron IIB.¹⁴

Another point of divergence arose over the relative position of Sialk VI (Nécropole B). In his earlier analysis, Young had included this material within his Late Western Grey Ware Horizon primarily because of a limited number of ceramic parallels with Hasanlu IV. Secondly, he argued there was less rationale for viewing Sialk VI as part of the Late Buff Ware Horizon.¹⁵ Dyson concentrates his attention on the characteristic painted decoration of the Sialk VI ceramics and consequently prefers to view them as related, albeit distantly, to the triangle painted wares of such Iron III assemblages as Hasanlu IIIB, Ziwiye, and Giyan I¹. In his opinion, the Sialk painted decoration is a probable forerunner of the later painted decoration style.¹⁶ Given the highly idiosyncratic nature of the Sialk VI material, no satisfactory solution to this problem can be expected until fresh evidence is available.¹⁷

By the time Dyson prepared his article for publication, it was possible for him to make a clearer differentiation between Hasanlu IIIB and IIIA. In so doing, it became apparent that Young's Late Buff Ware group of sites could be further subdivided into an early phase (Iron III) corresponding to Hasanlu IIIB and a late phase (Historic) related to Hasanlu IIIA.¹⁸ These two phases were still predominantly buff ware horizons but Dyson singled out the triangle-painted wares of Hasanlu IIIB and Ziwiye as a horizon marker for the Iron III period and plain buff wares as more typical of the Historic period.

In the early part of his Iron III period, Iron IIIA, Dyson includes Sialk VI and the painted "genre Luristan" ware in a phase corresponding chronologically to the occupational hiatus between Hasanlu IVA and IIIB. These assemblages were understood as probably ancestral to the painted wares of Iron IIIB. A number of close parallels in triangle painted ware link Hasanlu IIIB and Ziwiye. Less strong painted pottery parallels suggest that a number of the Giyan I¹ graves should also be associated with Iron IIIB. Other isolated painted pottery parallels persuaded Dyson to place Achaemenid Village I and Khurvin (in part) in the same range. The corpus of Iron IIIB assemblages was further augmented by plain buff ware parallels tying deposits at the Zendan and Yanik Tepe into Hasanlu IIIB. The succeeding period is simply called the Historic and plain buff wares are regarded as typical. Within this horizon Dyson includes Hasanlu IIIA, Agrab Tepe, Geoy A (in part), Achaemenid Village II-III and Pasargadae.¹⁹

Largely based on radiocarbon dates from the Hasanlu sequence, approximate chronological parameters were ascribed to these broadly defined archaeological periods. Both Young and Dyson were essentially in agreement in this matter. Iron I was accordingly dated from ca. 1250-ca. 1000 B.C. Iron II was thought to fall between ca. 1000 and ca. 750 B.C. while Iron III began ca. 750 B.C. and concluded ca. 500 B.C. in the historic Achaemenid period.²⁰ Since 1965 it has been recognized that most of these chronological interfaces must be raised slightly with the recalibration of the radiocarbon datings. However, the general time ranges proposed for the periods have

remained in wide acceptance.²¹

Since 1965 archaeological research in central-west Iran has burgeoned, especially in the field of Iron Age studies. Three major excavations at Godin Tepe, Baba Jan Tepe, and Tepe Nush-i Jan have uncovered Iron Age levels. In addition, there have been several archaeological surveys of various sub-areas within the general region that have yielded Iron Age materials.²²

The initial results of this volume of research and new material have been some "tinkering" with the traditional view of the Iron Age cultural sequence. To date, however, no inclusive review of all of the evidence from these excavations and surveys has been undertaken. Yet even without this process of synthesis and digestion it is increasingly recognized that the paradigms based largely on the Hasanlu sequence seem at odds with the accumulating data from central-west Iran. Before proceeding further with the discussion of Iron Age research, it is appropriate at this point to turn our attention to the problems of ambiguous terminology.

The ceramic horizons identified by Young are basically cultural constructs expressing congeries of common attributes. However, these horizons acquired sequential and chronological significance based on their occurrence in the Hasanlu stratigraphy. This chronological aspect came to be further emphasized with the adoption of an Iron I-III terminology equated with and replacing the more cumbersome ceramic horizon nomenclature. In this lay the genesis of a certain ambiguity. What does it mean to say that, for example, Sialk VI is an Iron II culture? Although a number of typological parallels in

ceramics and metal link it to Hasanlu IV, the Sialk VI assemblage is obviously something other than a standard Late Western Grey Ware occupation. Dyson's position is that while Sialk VI may well start in the late Iron II period, its cultural connections particularly through decorative painted pottery motifs, are with other Iron III assemblages.

Both Young who sees Sialk VI as Iron II and Dyson who calls it Iron III are making cultural statements or associations. The difference in opinion is partly subjective and partly a result of emphasizing different aspects of the Sialk VI assemblage. There is no apparent serious divergence of views on chronology, both scholars allowing that the assemblage probably begins in Iron II and persists well into Iron III times. The point to be emphasized is that the nomenclature of Iron I-III can be used in either a cultural or a chronological fashion and that this practice is a potential source of confusion. It is proposed, therefore, to use this terminology in a strictly chronological sense unless it is otherwise qualified. The decision is arbitrary, as is virtually all archaeological periodization, but it has the advantage of being unambiguous.

As springboards for further research, the paradigms of the Iron Age in western Iran proposed by Young and Dyson have admirably fulfilled their purpose. However, the scale and achievements of archaeological research in western Iran during the last decade may have rendered a generalizing interregional sequence obsolete. Increasingly, a need is recognized for finer and more appropriate regional sequences and this is perhaps nowhere more true than in

central-west Iran.

The first objective is, therefore, to review and order the data from excavation and survey within central-west Iran and to establish a local relative and absolute stratigraphy. Of necessity, ceramics and architecture will constitute the bulk of the evidence as these two categories of materials are most fully described in the preliminary publications that have appeared so far.²³ The normal inadequacies of preliminary publication preclude any quantitative approach to the problem of dealing with these materials. Instead, traditional methods of establishing typological parallels will be used despite their inherent and high degree of subjectivity. To await full publication of materials from these sites and surveys would indubitably delay such a synthesis another decade.

Having established a local relative and absolute stratigraphy, I will then proceed to assess the degree to which the traditional paradigms are characteristic of this smaller area. In short, do we have in central-west Iran the same ceramic horizons defined on the basis of the Hasanlu excavation and are they sequential?

Without wishing to anticipate the results of this research, it is perhaps best at this point to set the stage, as it were, with a few general remarks. The geographical parameters of the detailed part of this study must be restricted. Accordingly, by central-west Iran I mean the area west of the Alvand alignment that includes the valleys of Assadabad, Kangavar, Sahneh, Bisitun, Kermanshah and the Mahidasht. To the south of this east-west axis, the area around Malayer and the eastern Pish-i Kuh will also be included. Excavation

and survey material from neighbouring areas will be adduced wherever necessary but the following caveats should be noted. Large tracts of western Iran are still virtually terra incognita in archaeological terms. This is particularly true of central-west Iran west of the Mahidasht and of Iranian Kurdistan. Much has been published of late in a preliminary fashion on Bronze Age and Iron Age data from excavations and surveys in Luristan. It is clear that Luristan as a whole, but especially the western and southern parts of the province, had quite a different cultural history from the rest of western Iran. Accordingly, these data have been left aside.²⁴

As with any period, a myriad of problems awaits resolution in the Iron Age of central-west Iran. Two, however, stand out in importance. The first of these is the poor evidence for an Early and Late Grey Ware occupation or settlement distribution corresponding to Iron I/II. The second problem is that of the Late Buff wares, their ethnic association and historical context.

Excavation and survey have yet to yield convincing evidence for an Early and Late Grey Ware occupation in central-west Iran. Most researchers find themselves in the position of having to be apologetic for the sparsity of evidence. Indeed, the only evidence for such cultural horizons so far has come from burials and surface finds. Since it is assumed that the area was occupied during Iron I/II times when these wares make their appearance in the north-west at Hasanlu and related sites, and given that a large area of central-west Iran has now been surveyed at varying degrees of intensity, the standard explanation of the difficulty of recognizing local variants of grey ware begins

to wear rather thin.

Survey data suggest, on the contrary, that the dominant occupation of the area following that typified by the painted buff wares of the Late Bronze Age is one characterized by the Late Buff Ware horizon, traditionally thought to be Iron III in date. This Late Buff Ware makes a fairly late appearance in the Hasanlu sequence and there is probably little doubt that such ceramic corpora as that from Godin II are indeed Iron III in chronological terms. We cannot assume, however, that the ceramic horizon of which the Godin II ceramics are a part necessarily began as late in central-west Iran as its appearance in the Hasanlu sequence might suggest. We must examine the possibility that this ceramic horizon in central-west Iran may in its inception considerably predate its late manifestation in the north-west. It is through such an examination that we may begin to understand better the relationships, both cultural and chronological, between the Grey and Buff Ware Horizons in western Iran.

Both Young and Dyson were concerned with correlating the known historical data on western Iran with the reconstructed cultural sequences. Of overriding importance in this respect was the question of the archaeological identification of the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic groups in the area. Sidestepping, for the moment, the whole issue of equating peoples with pots, the problem was to discern at what stage in the archaeological sequence there was a cultural disjunction of a magnitude sufficient to be ascribed to an influx of Iranians. Young, in particular, examined each stage of the Iron Age in turn. Iron II and III were rejected as possible pivotal points

for various reasons that shall be examined later and the interface between the Late Bronze Age and Iron I, especially at Hasanlu, was selected as the only break drastic enough to be a likely candidate.

There were a number of reasons why this seemed plausible at the time: Firstly, it was Young's opinion that the Iron I-III periods represented a cultural continuum. Observed change was best explained by evolution and adaptation rather than by invoking large scale cultural displacement by migratory groups. Secondly, the grey wares of Iron I seemed to have a distant affinity with Late Bronze Age ceramics from north-eastern Iran and a number of other strands of evidence suggested that Iranians penetrated the central plateau and the Zagros from this direction. Thirdly, the historical geographical framework within which Young operated could be used as evidence of an Iranian presence in the southern Lake Urmia area as early as the late ninth century B.C. during Iron II times and well before the appearance of Late Buff Ware in the same region.²⁵ Thus an identification of the Early Western Grey Ware horizon with the arrival of Iranians seemed likely.

Within the parameters set for this study, it is not possible to evaluate the second reason for Young's identification, that is, the hypothesized relationship of the Iron I grey ware of Hasanlu V to the late Bronze Age grey-black ware of Tepe Hissar IIIC and other north-east Iranian sites. The parallels, in any case, are not strong. The third reason for Young's identification has been undermined by the revised historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros set out at the beginning of this study. That and the succeeding historical

narrative have established that the core Iranian area in the Zagros must be located in the Kermanshah-Hamadan region. This, however, is not an entirely sufficient excuse for throwing out the baby with the bathwater; the relevance to the central Zagros of Young's generalized Iron Age paradigm must still be evaluated on the archaeological evidence. Do we have in this area a sequence of Early and Late Grey Ware horizons followed by a Late Buff Ware horizon? And if not, can an alternative association be established between the archaeological data and the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic groups? It is the purpose of the following two chapters to answer these questions.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. T.C. Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology for Western Iran, 1500-500 B.C.," Iran, 3 (1965), pp. 53-85; hereafter, Young, Iran, 3 (1965).
2. Comparanda included surface sherds from Ziwiye and Khurvin/Chandar, and a detailed re-examination of the stratigraphy and internal chronology of late second and early first millennium B.C. levels at Tepe Giyan, Tepe Sialk, and the Achaemenid Village III-I sequence at Susa; Young, Iran, 3 (1965), p. 53.
3. Young, Iran, 3 (1965), pp. 70f.
4. See most recently, R.H. Dyson, Jr., "Architecture of the Iron I Period at Hasanlu in Western Iran and its implications for theories of migration on the Iranian plateau," in Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale . . . (Paris: CNRS, 1977), pp. 155-169.
5. On the occurrence of iron in Iron Age contexts in western Iran, see V. Pigott, "The Question of the Presence of Iron in the Iron I Period in Western Iran," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (Malibu, 1977), pp. 209-234.
6. T.C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," Iran, 5 (1967), p. 22 and fig. 22. Hereafter, Young, Iran, 5 (1967).
7. At the time of Young's doctoral dissertation on which he based his published research, the stratigraphical distinction between Hasanlu IIIB and IIIA had not yet been recognized. Prior to publication of the synthesis in Iran, 3 (1965), Young reviewed the small amount of data discrete to each stratigraphic level but could see no reason for substantially altering his conclusions. Subsequently, as the IIIB/IIIA distinction became clearer, Young modified his position and, following Dyson, divided his Late Buff Ware horizon over two periods, Iron Age III and the early historic period; Young, Iran, 3 (1965), pp. 53f; Iran, 5 (1967), p. 22, n. 68; R.H. Dyson, Jr., "Problems of protohistoric Iran as seen from Hasanlu," JNES, 24 (1965), pp. 193-217; hereafter Dyson, JNES, 24 (1965).
8. This is now confirmed by the published material from the nearby site of Dinkha Tepe, periods III and II; O.W. Muscarella, "The Iron Age at Dinkha Tepe, Iran," MMJ, 9 (1974), pp. 35-90.
9. Young, Iran, 5 (1967), p. 25 and n. 79.
10. I.J. Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style' of Hasanlu IVB," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (Malibu, 1977), pp. 371-386.

11. V. Pigott, "The Question of the Presence of Iron in the Iron I Period in Western Iran," in *Mountains and Lowlands*, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (Malibu, 1977), p. 227.
12. Dyson, *JNES*, 24 (1965), pp. 193ff.
13. Dyson, *JNES*, 24 (1965), pp. 198ff. and p. 211, table 2. The rationale behind the establishment of an Iron IIA period is not at all clear. Apart from the stratigraphical distinction between the building level of Hasanlu IVC and the major renovations carried out in IVB, there seems no other way to differentiate the material culture of IVC from IVB. Thus, no other assemblage can be correlated with IVC specifically and Iron IIA has no clear meaning, Hasanlu IVC being the only "exemplar."
14. Young recognized certain parallels, nine in number, between the pottery at the Zendan and Hasanlu IV; Young, *Iran*, 3 (1965), pp. 74ff. and fig. 13. For the most part, these parallels are specific features of plastic decoration including tab handles, tabular lugs, fluted shoulders on pots, raised spiral ridges and zoomorphic lugs. The parallels in overall vessel shape are rather generalized. In contrast, most of the eleven parallels adduced by Young between the Zendan pottery and that of Hasanlu III refer to vessel form and thus constitute more compelling evidence for believing that the strongest ceramic ties of the Zendan are to Hasanlu III rather than IV. It has long been suspected that the material at the Zendan is largely in a derived context, having been washed out of structures on the slopes, and may therefore represent successive occupations over an unknown span of time. No stratigraphic distinction between early and late contexts was made at the site and the matter cannot be resolved on internal evidence; see R. Naumann et al., "Takht-i-Suleiman und Zendan-i-Suleiman Grabungsbericht 1962," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1964, pp. 2-76.
15. Young, *Iran*, 3 (1965), pp. 74ff.
16. Dyson, *JNES*, 24 (1965), p. 207.
17. There is no real dissension between Dyson and Young over the chronological range of Sialk VI. Dyson allows for the possibility that Sialk VI began as much as fifty years earlier than its attribution to Iron III would suggest, and is willing to view it at least in part as late Iron II in the chronological sense. The crux of the issue is the cultural attribution of Sialk VI. There is little to commend Dyson's suggested connection between the painted wares of Hasanlu IIIB and Ziwiye and those of Sialk VI. In both ware and shape, the ceramic assemblages are radically different and shared painted decorative motifs such as triangles and checkerboard designs cannot count heavily against the differences. In short, Sialk VI is a highly

individualized cultural phenomenon that must postdate the Iron I/ Early Western Grey Ware/Sialk V horizon but, for the time being, cannot be reliably correlated with other known corpora of pottery from Iron II or III in western Iran. The most recent discussion of the chronological parameters and cultural affinities of Sialk VI bring us no closer to a resolution of the issue; see R. Ghirshman, L'Iran et la migration des Indo-Aryens et des Iraniens (Leiden: Brill, 1977), especially pp. 52ff.

18. Dyson, JNES, 24 (1965), p. 211.
19. It is now recognized that at least three stages are to be discerned in the Agrab Tepe occupation, the earliest being Urartian and therefore correlated with Hasanlu IIIb; see O.W. Muscarella, "Excavations at Agrab Tepe, Iran," MMJ, 8 (1973), pp. 47-76.
20. Young, Iran, 3 (1965), p. 81; Dyson, JNES, 24 (1965), p. 211.
21. For upwardly revised dates for the Iron Age divisions, see below p. 244 and the table of radiocarbon determinations in table 7.
22. Full documentation for recent excavations and surveys in central-west Iran is provided below.
23. Small finds from the Iron Age levels of the central-west Iranian sites have not been discussed except when they have some chronological significance. Godin Tepe, period II yielded few small finds and those from Nush-i Jan, period I have yet to be fully published. Small finds from periods III and II at Baba Jan have been published but those from period I still await publication.
24. L. Vanden Berghe, "Le Luristan à l'âge du fer. La nécropole de Kutal-i Gulgul. VII (1971) et VIII (1972) campagnes," Archeologia, 65 (1973), pp. 17-29.
25. Young, Iran, 5 (1967), pp. 29ff.

CHAPTER 8

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE IN CENTRAL-WEST IRAN

The purposes of this long and detailed chapter are several. Consequently, a few prefatory remarks will undoubtedly assist the reader in following the progression of objectives. The first, and major, portion of the discussion is a descriptive and analytical review of the ceramics, architecture, and associated stratigraphical problems of three recently excavated sites in central-west Iran, namely Baba Jan Tepe, Tepe Nush-i Jan, and Godin Tepe. Using these data as a foundation, I then proceed to establish a relative ceramic chronology for the region by pinning down the lower and later end of the sequence in relation to ceramic corpora known to be dated to the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. and by working backwards from there. In addition, I will briefly discuss the degree to which one can discern continuity in columned-hall architecture between Hasanlu V/IV and the sites mentioned above in order to determine whether the latter may be characterized as intermediaries in a lineal architectural evolution culminating in the Achaemenid complexes of Pasargadae and Persepolis. Following this, the evidence for attributing absolute dates to the central-west Iranian sequence is evaluated and, finally, the data from several archaeological surveys conducted recently in central-west Iran are presented and analyzed. The implications of these various studies will be drawn out in the subsequent chapter where the congruence of

Young's paradigm of the Iron Age is tested against the central-west Iranian sequence.

Baba Jan Tepe

Baba Jan Tepe is located close to a low watershed on the southern perimeter of the Delfan Plain in the eastern Pish-i-Kuh between the Kuh-i-Sefid and the Kuh-i-Garin (fig. 3). The area as a whole is fertile and well-watered, being drained by the upper reaches of the Saimarreh and Kashgan rivers. The site is also fairly well situated in terms of avenues of communication to the north and south.¹

The site comprises a large central mound, roughly oval in plan, with smaller tepes to the east and south-west, the latter being unexcavated.² Four seasons of excavation in the central and eastern mounds were conducted between 1966 and 1969 under the direction of Clare Goff, the results being published only in preliminary form.³ The occupational sequence of both mounds may be conveniently subdivided into three main periods, the earliest of which, period III, is represented in both locations. Periods I and II are known only from the east mound.⁴ The following is a highly abbreviated account of the salient architectural features and associated material culture of each period beginning with the earliest, period III.

East Mound, Period III

The east mound period III occupation is an imposing architectural complex comprising two major elements named the "Fort" and the "Painted Chamber" (fig. 4). During the 1969 season it was established that the Fort precedes the Painted Chamber, although the time

interval between the building of the two structures may be negligibly small.⁵

Massive in construction, the walls of the Fort were between 2.0 and 2.5 m. thick and, in some places, were preserved to a height of 4 m. The basic plan is cruciform. A square central hall (room 4) is flanked on the west, east, and north by long, rectangular rooms (3, 5, and 6, respectively). Entrance to the hall and these adjoining rooms is through a small antechamber (room 2) to the south. A stairwell (room 1) flanking room 2 to the east evidently gave access to an upper storey.⁶ A southern tier of rooms (rooms 7-9) is largely unexcavated so that the actual configuration of the Fort in this area is unclear. Room 9 connected through to room 8 on the west and also had, at its south-eastern corner, another exit leading off to an eastern extension of the complex and perhaps providing access to the Painted Chamber. No main entrance to the Fort has been located.

To the east of the Fort and aligned on a slightly different axis was the Painted Chamber complex. The southern portion of this complex included a large, incompletely excavated, courtyard. Two period III floor levels of greenish, tamped clay were located here along with a patch of stone paving immediately south of the elaborate plastered and recessed doorway that gave access to the Painted Chamber to the north. Three postholes were also found in the courtyard but they formed no observable pattern. In the southwest corner a patch of rough stone paving in association with a pile of sheep maxillae suggests the use of this area for slaughtering. To the west of the courtyard room 10, containing a small oven and bench, was formed by

enclosing a large recessed area with a thin curtain wall.

The doorway to the Painted Chamber could be sealed off from the inside. It was set eccentrically in the southern wall more towards the west end. The opposing north wall had two notable features, an elaborate fireplace with fronting hearth and a recessed doorway with reveals that led into a rectangular northern annex. Added to the west side of this doorway was a low bench. A recessed blind window was located on the west wall. The central area of the Painted Chamber, measuring approximately 10.4 by 12.5 m., was paved with square mud-bricks into which had been set two massive stone column bases. The latter were edged by plaster upon which red paint outlines show that the column shafts must have been ca. 90 cms. in diameter.

An extension 4.80 m. west of the main chamber gave access through a recessed doorway to a small side chamber, room 20, 3.0 by 3.3 m. in area. This small room was equipped with corner pilasters and an A-shaped fireplace in the east wall with a hearth offset to the south. The central doorway in the north wall of the Painted Chamber led into an incompletely excavated northern annex with a mudbrick bench at the west end and a very crude fireplace in the northern wall. The floor was partially paved with stone. The area to the east of the Painted Chamber no doubt had an annex and a small room corresponding to room 20 but modern quarrying and period I occupation have destroyed the evidence.

The Painted Chamber was elaborately decorated. Fragments of a minimum of 176 painted ceramic tiles were found among the debris on the floor, though whether they came from an upper storey floor or the ceiling of the Painted Chamber itself is not clear.⁷ The floor of the

chamber was painted white. The southern wall had a trim of red plaster running along the bottom, never more than 6 cms. high, and curving down to meet the floor. The west wall either had a red plaster dado with whitewash higher up or two superimposed plaster coatings, first red and then white. The blind window was white-plastered, while the fireplace and door on the north wall were red-plastered. A complex sequence of both white and red replasterings was found in the western annex. Room 20 had at least a red dado, if it was not done entirely in red.

A number of additional features are worthy of note for comparative purposes. These include aspects of construction and decoration. In room 1 of the Fort a chñeh ramp led from the door in the southwestern corner up to a mudbrick landing and was probably continued upwards from there by a wooden extension. The central pier around which the stair was built was bonded into a higher landing to the west and supported by a mudbrick half-arch, evidently corbelled, that must have linked up to the northern wall. The use of the corbelling technique was also found in the arch over the doorway connecting rooms 3 and 4 and in the fireplace of room 3. Buttressed and recessed walls occur in rooms 3 and 5 which also feature slots piercing the walls to the outside; no exterior faces were excavated so that the outside configuration of the slots and the presence of exterior buttresses and recesses were never established. A number of rooms in the complex had built-in fireplaces, sometimes fronted by small raised hearths.⁸ In addition, several doorways and one blind window are distinguished by the use of reveals.

In the Fort, rooms 2 and 4 were virtually empty of finds apart from a little pottery.⁹ Rooms 6, 7, and 8 remain unexcavated. The floor of room 3 was covered with very fine ash, as deep as 35 cms. in some areas, possibly being carbonized rugs or rushes. On top of this ash layer lay heavy pithoi fragments and some painted "genre Luristan" pottery.¹⁰ The slot east of the fireplace had been "corked" by a "genre Luristan" spouted pot. The floor of room 5 was also strewn with "genre Luristan" pottery and ribbed pithoi fragments. A small stepped plinth was found in the north-east corner of the room and behind it a boot vase, a modelled and painted pottery vessel in the form of a lower leg encased in a laced boot with three anklets.

The Painted Chamber and associated courtyard yielded little in the way of pottery or small finds. The pottery found in this sector is described as "virtually identical" to that obtained from the period III occupation of the Central mound.¹¹ Anomalies included worn and re-used Giyan IV vessels, a grey ware sherd with incised decoration, and bowls with flaring rims.

It is likely, but not certain, that the Fort and the Painted Chamber functioned as a single complex and were connected by a series of doors in the unexcavated southern portion. The restricted access and massive walls of the Fort obviously suggest that defensive considerations were of importance but additional features such as the built-in fireplaces, ovens, various decorative aspects of the architecture, the nature of the pottery and the few small finds point to a predominantly residential and domestic function for the structure.

The elaborate decoration of the Painted Chamber suggests a ceremonial function for this structure, though whether it was of a religious nature, as Goff first suspected, or secular cannot be determined. Clearly, the entire complex must be associated with people of elite status. The investment of labour in construction and decoration far transcends the minimal requirements of an ordinary household. The entire complex displays evidence of destruction by fire. No human remains were found in the burned debris, nor anything of intrinsic value. The large amounts of domestic pottery in a number of rooms and a variety of small finds suggests that the abandonment of the complex was reasonably precipitate. Either that, or it had been selectively plundered before being deliberately set on fire.

Central Mound, Period III

Three phases of period III occupation are known from the Central Mound. Phase 3, the earliest of these, was encountered only in restricted soundings and there is little published information. Evidently it consisted of a settlement of small stone houses surrounded by a large buttressed wall.

The reconstructed plan of the phase 2 structure (fig. 5) shows a symmetrical arrangement consisting of a central court, ca. 18.6 by 9.6 m., laid out on a rough N-S axis and flanked on the west by the "West Long Room" (ca. 18.6 by 4.4 m.) and on the east by the slightly shorter "East Long Room" (ca. 17.4 by 5.2 m.). This core is surrounded on all four sides and corners by eight smaller rectangular rooms.¹² The overall dimensions of the complex are approximately 33 by 35 m.

Entrance to the complex was through the east portico directly into the East Long Room. A patch of pavement immediately west of this doorway suggests that one continued straight ahead to enter the central courtyard. Methods of access to other rooms in the complex are unknown as in most cases walls were not preserved above their stone foundations. Few features are known for the phase 2 structure. Several rooms have discontinuous patches of stone paving. A small bin-like feature is shown on the plan in the south-east corner of the East Long Room but it appears for both phases 2 and 1. Mud benches are reconstructed in the East Long Room against the north-west wall and flanking the paving in the portico on the east.¹³ A large quern and several storage vessels found in the West Long Room suggest a primarily domestic function for this area at least.

Three lines of argument may be adduced in support of believing the central court to have been open to the elements. First, unlike phase 1, there was no clear evidence of columns or bases on the phase 2 floor in this area. Second, two short stretches of foundation wall on the north and east walls of the courtyard were faced with large stones, commonly though not exclusively associated with outside walls. Third, extant portions of phase 2 mudbrick walls in the same areas showed evidence of having been "eaten out" in their lowest course suggesting exposure to climatic erosion.

Some minor modifications to the building, particularly in the eastern sector, were made during its lifetime. These appear on the composite plan (fig. 5) as phase 2A.¹⁴

The phase 1 structure is little more than a modified phase 2 (fig. 5). The superstructure of the earlier building was evidently removed in most cases down to the stone foundations and many phase 1 walls follow the earlier wall lines. Thus the basic tripartite division of a central long room flanked by similar long rooms to the east and west is preserved. Modifications include the disappearance of the west and east "towers" in favour of an externally buttressed recess on the west and a long portico or alcove in the east. The peripheral rooms to the north and south were extended towards each other to form larger rectangular rooms presenting unbroken buttressed walls to the outside.

Access to the complex was still from the east side through the previously mentioned alcove or portico. At the north end of this feature is a smaller enclosed area. The configuration of the south end, destroyed by an intrusive horse burial, is unknown.¹⁵ Goff claims that this portico was almost certainly fronted by a row of columns but the only evidence is one possible and one definite column base, numbers XII and XI, respectively (see fig. 5). The phase 2 paving in this area was reused.

It would appear that phase 1 was built in two stages. The rooms to the north-west, west and south were erected as a unit with large stone foundations up to 2 m. thick. Subsequently, the courtyard was enclosed and the east and north-east sections were added. In this case, the stone foundations are of a different nature, being composed of medium-sized facing stones and a rubble interior.¹⁶ The phase 1 central court is distinguished by a number of features. Two unbonded buttresses on the west wall flanked the entrance into the West Long

Room. Awkwardly positioned in front of this entrance was a hearth. A number of column bases were also found that, combined with the thickness of the encircling walls, suggest the court was roofed over and possibly had a second storey.

At the north end of the court a secondary and higher floor was established. Features associated with this floor included a short wall stub, a hearth on a small patch of stone paving, and possibly column bases IV, IX and X. At the south end of the court was a more extensive stone paving associated with a drain running to the exterior in the south. Butchered animal bones in this area suggested that it served as a slaughter area that could be sluiced down after use. Further modifications of the phase 1 structure included a tier of three small rooms (5-7) added to the northern facade of room 4 in the north-east corner. The walls of these rooms are not bonded into the main structure. A small thin-walled structure tacked on to the southern facade completes what is known of the phase 1 architecture.

Few small finds were retrieved from the period III occupation on the Central Mound. All pottery from the various levels has been lumped together by the excavator and is treated as one period. There is nothing either in the plan of the phases 2 and 1 Central Mound buildings or in the associated features to suggest anything other than a domestic function for the structures.

East Mound, Period II

The period III occupation was destroyed by fire and a thick layer of burned debris was found on all period III floors with the exceptions of room 9 (the White Room) and the courtyard which had no

roof.. Period II reoccupation of the East Mound has been subdivided into four phases, D-A. Of these, the architectural plans of phases D-B are shown in fig. 6. Only the briefest description is provided here in order to establish the sequence and nature of the reoccupation.¹⁷

Within the Painted Chamber complex, period IID/C reoccupation consists of a reflooring of the Painted Chamber over period III debris. Along with this are some poorly preserved rooms at the north-east end of the Chamber area. In addition, a rectangular enclosure, comprising two rooms (4 and 6) nicknamed the "Workshops," made of chineh walls on stone foundations; was erected in the south-east corner of the courtyard.

Period IIB is marked by the rebuilding and addition of some walls in the Workshop area (fig.6, rooms 1-6). Room 1 was particularly well preserved and yielded a good quantity of pottery and small finds. Only meagre sherd collections were obtained from the rest of the workshops.¹⁸ In the Painted Chamber against the east wall of the Fort is a series of small IIB rooms (13-18) that apparently functioned as stables. These rooms were destroyed by fire along with the horses or donkeys inside. Period IIB occupation was also found on a high floor in room 10 of the courtyard, nicknamed the "Groom's Kitchen."

Period IIA occupation was found only in the south-west corner of the courtyard where a rectangular room, ca. 8 by 5 m. was built against the outer wall of the Fort. This room, the "Stone House," had a north-west extension to two higher floors above and within room 10, the former "Groom's Kitchen."¹⁹

Period II levels in the Fort are even more nondescript. Evidence of reoccupation came from rooms 4, 5, 8 and 9, which all had

higher floors over the period III burned debris.²⁰ Few details have been provided on these squatting levels. Room 4 was recoated with white plaster and was evidently unroofed. Three high floors were found in room 5, the lowest of which could be related to the period II white pebble floor of room 4. Room 8 had a period II floor but no further details are available. Room 9 had a more complex sequence of reoccupation; it appears to have been filled in partially to bring its floor height up to approximately the same level as the rest of the reoccupied areas. Two period II floors were found on top of this fill along with associated benches, stone paving, ovens and other domestic features.²¹

East Mound, Period I

A thick layer of eroded mudbrick (stratum 4) containing a mixture of period III, II and, probably as a result of pitting, I wares marks the interval between periods II and I. The fact that some period I walls were established on the stumps of reconstructed period II walls might suggest that the abandonment of the site was relatively short. At the very top of the East Mound a definite building phase (IB) and two graves has been assigned to an intermediate occupation; the pottery from these contexts is evidently more closely related to period II wares but both pottery and architecture remain unpublished. Period I occupation proper consisted of a series of small, stone-built, terraced enclosures linked by retaining walls that extended over the summit of the East Mound and down the eastern shoulder.²²

Pottery: Period III

Period III wares were originally defined on the basis of pottery recovered from the Central Mound excavations. As the manors were

denuded to foundation level, it was not possible to establish a ceramic sequence for the three phases of period III occupation and the pottery is consequently treated as a whole.²³ Additional pottery from the period III occupation of the East Mound, in particular from rooms 3 and 5, has extended the range of shapes but has not necessitated revision of ware descriptions, apart from the fact that there is a greater use of the fast wheel in the East Mound pottery.

Originally the painted common and plain common wares of periods III and II were collectively described as "genre Luristan" ware. Goff now prefers to designate them as Baba Jan III Painted and Plain Common wares, respectively. Similarly the former designations of genre Luristan medium and coarse wares have been abandoned in favour of Baba Jan III Heavy Common ware and Baba Jan III Pithos and Cooking Ware. Finally, the ware which first appears in period II and was previously called "Nush-i Jan" ware has been renamed Baba Jan II "Imported" ware. Although the new nomenclature is still unsatisfactory, it has been adopted here to avoid further confusion. In addition to the wares mentioned above, small quantities of grey ware occur in period III. Each of these wares is described below along with characteristic shapes and decoration.²⁴

Common ware. The common ware has a hard strong fabric that is fairly well levigated; inclusions range from barely visible sand particles to crushed grits. Fracture is even and wall thickness in vessels averages 7-8 mm. The colour of the fabric varies from off-white through cream to peach, pale orange, and light reddish brown but is usually a "warm buff." Surface colour tends to be several

shades lighter than the core. Period III common ware from the Central Mound tends to be either handmade or slow-wheel made. On the East Mound, fast wheel techniques predominate. Outside surface is usually wet-smoothed and rarely slipped. Finer sherds are often burnished, but carelessly so. Decoration is done in reddish-brown paint that turns greenish on vitrified sherds. The repertoire of painted designs is limited. Most frequent are lines of kites, often combined with Kassite crosses. Also frequent are rosettes or similar motifs, pendant triangles and dotted bands. Less common are zig-zags, cross-hatching, chequers, double-axe or butterfly motifs and large circular blobs in lines or on the apexes of triangles.²⁵

The relative scarcity of certain vessel types which commonly occur in private "genre Luristan" collections, such as beak spouted jars and tubular spouted "teapots," both with basket handles, suggest these had a primarily funerary function.²⁶ The most frequently occurring ceramic forms were as follows:

POTS:

- (1) Deep pots with trough spouts and vertical handles are also well represented in period III, continuing as late as IIB; figs. 19:2; 21:12.

BOWLS:

- (2) Large bowls with trough spouts and horizontal handles were well represented throughout period III and continued at least as late as IIB; see figs. 13:1; 15:31; 20:8.
- (3) Small bowls with flat base, slightly inturned rim and horizontal handle, usually decorated with painted ladders or pendant triangles. These were particularly common in III and persisted into IIA; see figs. 13:2-26; 17:6-9; 19:22-23.
- (4) Small sinuous sided bowls were also common; see fig. 20:1, 21.

- (5) Deep flaring-sided bowls or cups, some with pedestal bases were less common; see fig. 13:37-38.
- (6) "Flowerpots," being bowls with straight flaring sides ornamented with an animal-headed lug handle, were relatively common only in the earliest phase of the Central Mound period III occupation. Both painted and plain examples occurred as well as some with thickened rims and horizontal handles; see fig. 13:27-31, 33-36.

JARS:

- (7) Large jars with two opposed vertical handles, one being animal-shaped and the other flat-topped, although not common, are highly distinctive; these vessels are always elaborately decorated with painted kites. See figs. 15:9-11; 16:7?; 10; 17:1, 10; 19:11, 16.
- (8) Simple jars with globular belly, a slim neck, and a flared, pinched or slightly grooved rim were common in III and persisted into early period II. The upper half of the body was usually painted with hanging triangles or kites. Size varied from small to large. Examples include figs. 12:passim; 16:4, 5, 8; 17:4-5; 19:17; 20:19. No complete examples from period III had lugs or side handles but the occurrence of sherds with these features attest to their presence; see fig. 15:1-6, 14. Perhaps fortuitously, some early period II jars had single vertical handles or paired lugs; see figs. 19:3; 20:18; 21:1-6. Plain jar rims and body sherds were common to all phases of period II.

MISCELLANEOUS:

- (9) Small cups usually with a single horizontal handle are common throughout periods III and II with later exemplars showing a tendency towards being sinuous-sided; see figs. 15:19; 16:3; 18:5; 21:9-10; 23:3, 5.

Heavy common ware. Heavy common ware has a biscuity fabric with closely packed grits and uneven fracture. Techniques of manufacture are not described. The interior is often untreated and friable while the outside is generally wet-smoothed. Fabric varies in colour from a dirty buff to a reddish-brown. Heavy common ware vessels are usually large storage vessels and pithoi, some being decorated with applied cordons of finger impressed motifs. Only two complete pithoi were found (fig. 22:9) but fragments of similar vessels were discovered in rooms 3 and 5 of the Fort. Typically the rim is heavy,

swollen and flat-topped (figs. 19:18; 23:5) but other forms occur (figs. 15:40-42, 46-48; 18:9). Bases show a variety of forms (fig. 14:28, 33, 34, 36; see also the knobbed base, fig. 23:6) but commonly occurring were flat or knobbed bases with a small central hole (figs. 14:37-40; 23:17). Common shapes included the following:

- (1) Deep pots with thickened rims ornamented either with a lug or a vertical handle commonly occurred in period III but persisted into period II; see figs. 15:33-39; 18:3, 8; 20:2; 21:2. Most were in the same gritty paste with a whitish, slipped surface that was wet-smoothed and occasionally burnished.
- (2) Jars with a single vertical handle were also typical; see figs. 18:2, 4; 21:15; 22:25.

Coarse cooking ware. The coarse cooking ware has a very coarse, dark fabric with closely packed black and brown grits and an uneven, friable fracture. No information has been provided on methods of manufacture or finish. Fabric colour varies from reddish-brown to black and the exterior is often smoke-blackened. The most frequent shape in coarse ware is a holemouth pot but small jugs, jars and cups also occur in this fabric. Common shapes included the following:

- (1) Deep, holemouthed pots, usually with a lug or lugs at the rim and, rarely, a spout are particularly common on the Central Mound in period III levels; see fig. 14:1-16.
- (2) Miscellaneous shapes copying those of the common wares occur including deep bowls with everted rims (14:18-20), jars (14:17), bowls with clay buttons on the rim (14:21, 23), flowerpots (14:26, 27), lugged jars (21:16), crude bowls, and vertical and horizontal handled jars (23:2, 4).

Grey wares. Small quantities of grey ware in three varieties were found. These included a few sherds from the Central Mound manors in fine, wheel-made, pale grey ware with a smoothed surface and

decorated with ribs, excisions and grooves (fig. 15:26-29); a single sherd of handmade, grey ware with large grits and an uneven surface with typical incised kite designs from the East Mound period III courtyard; and, from rooms 3 and 5 of the Fort, two vessels with a mottled, grey-buff, highly polished surface with shallow, parallel grooved decoration (figs. 16:1; 17:3).

Pottery: Period II

Period III wares persist into period II for the most part but with a decrease in overall quality of manufacture and quantity of painted decoration, a phenomenon probably to be associated with the functional change in the nature of the site's occupation. Period II is marked especially by the appearance of what Goff now calls "Imported Wares."

Imported ware. The fabric falls into the "common" category being hard, and well levigated with small mica and grit inclusions.²⁷ Fracture is fairly even and most specimens are wheelmade. Vessels are generally smoothed on the inside and, in the case of bowls, sometimes burnished. Outside surfaces are often burnished; sometimes this is rather streaky while in other cases it is a hard overall burnish. Rare sherds with a reddish core may have a thin red slip on the exterior but it is difficult to be positive without microscopic examination. The colour of the fabric varies from peach-pink through to reddish-brown or greyish-brown. The core is often incompletely oxidized and is therefore usually much darker than the exterior buff or pale cream, giving the impression of a false slip. This sometimes appears as a banded effect on the outside of the vessel, a feature

also observed on the pottery from Nush-i Jan, period I.

Common shapes in Imported ware of period II included the following forms:

POTS:

- (1) Less common but still fairly frequent were small, double-handled pots, the handles sometimes being twisted out of true vertical alignment; figs. 20:13; 22:20-21.

BOWLS:

- (2) Most common were deep bowls with thickened knobbed or inturned rims and frequently with a horizontal loop handle and two or three small rim knobs; see figs. 20:6; 21:3-6, 18; 22:8, 12, 14, 17-19; 23:7-8. Heavier knob-rimmed bowls were represented only by rim fragments; fig. 23:8, 12.

JARS:

- (3) Also characterized were jars with a vertical handle and a tubular spout ending in a trefoil; figs. 21:7, 23:1?.

MISCELLANEOUS:

- (4) Miscellaneous forms included a variety of jars with or without vertical handles (figs. 20:14-15; 21:8) and large, holemouthed storage vessels, though some of these may be intrusive from period I where they are common; fig. 22:15-16.

Pottery: Period I

Period I wares can also be divided into common, medium and coarse categories. Detailed description of each individual category is unnecessary. Period I common ware as described by Goff is evidently very like period II Nush-i Jan ware. Mica tempering which appeared in period II wares continues to be used in period I. There is a greater use of the fast wheel in period I and wheel striations are more commonly found on vessels than in period II. In addition to the common ware, there is a light-brown medium ware marked by large

black grit inclusions that give a speckled hen's egg appearance to the fabric. Vessels in this ware are generally thick-walled and heavy and are sometimes burnished. Genuine coarse ware occurs rarely in period I and evidently only in the form of large pithoi fragments, often decorated with applied ribbing and cable.

Two other wares from period I should be noted although the occurrence of both is extremely rare. The first of these is a very fine red ware with a highly burnished red slip. One fragment is decorated with a geometric design of opposed triangles in purple paint (fig. 24:6). "Bird handles," none of which are illustrated, also occur in both red and common ware. A single dish was found in a metallic buff ware with a gritty temper. A design in red paint was splashed carelessly on the rim and interior of the bowl (fig. 24:7). Most period I wares are plain.

Characteristic shapes of the period I pottery included the following:

POTS:

- (1) Small globular "chamberpots" with flat bases, swollen rims and two opposed vertical loop handles (fig. 24:10).
- (2) Small bomb-shaped pots with flaring rims and pointed or slightly rounded bases (fig. 24:4-5).
- (3) Bell-shaped situlae or goblets with sinuous sides and pinched or flat bases (fig. 24:2-3).

BOWLS:

- (4) Bowls occur in a wide variety of forms from those with simple curved walls (figs. 25:4-6; 24:8-9) to carinated bowls (figs. 25:3, 7, 8; 24:7). An equally wide range of rim treatment occurs including ledge, nailheaded and sharply incurving rims. Both small and large (fig. 17:12) bowls are found. Many of the above have a single horizontal loop handle on or just below the rim and some have rim knobs or lugs (fig. 25:8-11).

(5) Simple hemispherical bowls with pinched rim and single horizontal loop handle (fig. 25:12).

(6) Wide and squat bowls with flaring rims (fig. 25:1).

JARS:

(7) Jars with upright trefoil spouts attached to the rim (fig. 25:2). One well preserved example has an opposed strap handle (fig. 25:16).

(8) Jars with a trefoil pouring rim, opposed strap handle, globular body and flat base (fig. 24:1).

MISCELLANEOUS:

(9) Previously attributed to period II, the goblet shown in fig. 25:15 has now been reclassified by Goff as period I. Only one example was found at Baba Jan.

Tepe Nush-i Jan

Discovered during a survey in 1965 by Young and Stronach, the site of Nush-i Jan is located on top of a natural shale-rock outcrop towards the centre of the Jowkar Plain, about 20 kms. west of Malayer and 70 kms. south of Hamadan. Oblong in shape, the site is steeply contoured on all sides, rising to a maximum height of ca. 37 m. Of this approximately 8 m. is the result of successive building on the site during two major occupational periods. The area at the top of the site is fairly restricted, being only ca. 100 by 40 m. (fig. 7).

Excavations at the site, conducted since 1967, have established the presence of at least four major buildings—the Central Temple, the Old Western Building, the Fort and the Columned Hall—which were erected during the initial period of occupation, period I.²⁸ Around these buildings further structures were added; these included storage magazines additional to those already found in the Fort, an incompletely excavated Northern Building, and an encircling perimeter wall so far

exposed only on the south and west sides of the site. This period I occupation, which was followed by a squatter's level in the Columned Hall and elsewhere, has been associated by the excavator with the historic Medes and dated to the eighth-sixth centuries B.C.²⁹ The major features of the site are described briefly below.

The Fort

The Fort is a rectangular structure approximately 22 by 25 m. built on a mudbrick platform constructed on bedrock. The external walls are provided with buttresses and recesses which, with the exception of the west facade, are regularly pierced with slots.³⁰

The entrance to the structure was located in the centre of the eastern facade giving access to a long, narrow ante-room (22). The east and west walls of room 22 had three triangular-headed wall niches while two raised hearths and a patch of river pebbles were found on the floor. From room 22 one passes into room 24, the floor of which sloped upwards towards the north.³¹ This ramp leads into room 20, a square stairwell, where the ramp continues around three sides of a solid mudbrick central pillar before reaching a short staircase on the fourth side. The ramp and stair gave access to the first storey and presumably also to the roof. A corbelled vault ceiling was located over the ramp.

To the west of room 24 lay four long, parallel magazines, rooms 23, 25, 26 and 18. The walls of these rooms taper inward noticeably and the corbelled vault ceilings were masked by a series of mudbrick struts, giving the false impression of true barrel vaulting. Each magazine had a narrow rectangular window set high in the west wall

just below the apex of the vaulted ceilings. In the two outer magazines, rooms 18 and 23, the external walls also have low level, rectangular air vents similar to ones found in rooms 20 and 22. All four magazines had been systematically emptied. Little is known of the first storey appointments. Generally, it seems that division of the first storey area was achieved by thin walls usually mounted directly over ground floor walls. First storey collapse into room 18 below yielded a valuable collection of pottery and small finds which are, however, probably to be associated with the later squatter's occupation.³²

After an undetermined length of time, various secondary features were added to the Fort. The north, south, and east sides were enclosed in a thick mudbrick skin which incorporated additional magazines (rooms 10-12) on the north side. Whether this addition was built to the full height of the original structure is not known. Later still, another mudbrick packing was added in the area between the west wall of the Fort and the Central Temple.

The Central Temple

Situated immediately to the west of the Fort, the Central Temple has a stepped-diamond plan with maximum dimensions of 15 by 13 m. and was erected at the highest point of the original rock outcrop.³³ The structure comprises a single central entrance on the south facade which leads into an antechamber (room 2A), flanked on the west by a square ramp-staircase (room 3) and on the north by the stepped-plan cella (room 1). The room 3 staircase allowed access to a first storey room (room 2--not shown) which ran over both the entrance and antechamber.

The antechamber had a triangular-headed niche on the east wall with a rectangular air vent near its apex. Immediately below the niche are a bench and a mudbrick basin. The ceiling was vaulted by means of two opposing rows of mudbrick struts.³⁴ The cella had elaborately recessed blind windows in all walls except the north bay wall, where there was a simple rectangular recess, and the west bay wall which was plain. In front of the latter a free-standing mudbrick "fire-altar" was located.³⁵ Higher in the walls of the cella were recessed crosses and small square slots in groups of three. The north-east and north-west corners of the central area of the cella had long corner pilasters. It was possible to close the cella off from outside by means of a wooden door on the inside of the south wall; a large wooden bolt was found in situ on the west jamb of this doorway. The otherwise plain external walls of the Central Temple were decorated with narrow vertical slots and shallow triangular recesses.

The Columned Hall

Further west again and situated on a mudbrick platform, the Columned Hall was built onto the truncated remains of the Old Western Building which is described below. The interior of the hall, an irregular rectangle, measures approximately 20 by 15 m. and the roof was supported by three rows of four columns each. The columns were set on bases of flat undressed stones which were placed level with the mudbrick floor, a feature which occurs at both Baba Jan III and Godin Tepe II. Low circular cappings of mudbrick and plaster covered the bases and the lower shaft of the column to a height of approximately 30 cms. The columns themselves measured ca. 25 cms. across.

Two doorways gave access to the hall, one located in the north-west corner and the other in the north-east corner. A third doorway in the west wall allowed entrance to the Old Western Building. Both of the entrances to the hall had inside reveals. Recessed niches with denticulated tops and triple and quadruple reveals were located on the interior faces of the north, south and east walls. A low, wide mud-brick platform was found in front of the south wall but otherwise there were no benches, seats or raised hearths that one might expect on the basis of parallels with Baba Jan III and Godin II.

The external walls of the Columned Hall were decorated with regularly spaced buttresses and recesses. An additional feature of the hall was a rock-cut tunnel about 1.7 m. high by 1.8 m. wide which descends down into the rock outcrop at an angle of approximately 30 degrees. Shallow rock-cut steps lead downwards for ca. 20 m. but the tunnel was apparently never completed.³⁶

The Old Western Building

Founded on bedrock and predating the abutting Columned Hall, the Old Western Building is a compact and still highly walled structure which is markedly similar to the Central Temple.³⁷ The original entrance was located in the centre of the east facade and led into a rectangular antechamber (room 45A) with a step vaulted ramp at its northern end giving access to the upper storey room (room 45--not shown) which overran the antechamber.³⁸ Room 45A was vaulted in the same style as the corresponding antechamber in the Central Temple and had two round-topped niches in the west wall. From the antechamber one could move west through a central doorway into the cella

(room 46), a rectangular room with a maximum length of ca. 8.85 m. which rose to the full height of the building. Well-reserved triangular-headed wall niches were found on the west and north walls of the cella. At the south end of the room, a low vault about 2.4 m. above the floor arched over the remains of a square mudbrick plinth. The exterior of the building was decorated with regularly spaced buttresses and recesses. As a consequence of the erection of the Columned Hall which blocked the original entrance, a high level passage was cut through the northern end of the east wall of the temple to connect up with a bend in the staircase north of the antechamber.

Additional Architectural Features

A number of additional architectural features have been located on the site. These include traces of a fifth major building to the north of the Columned Hall, an adjacent square ramp and a high level corridor.³⁹ The period I complex was surrounded by an oval-shaped perimeter wall, over 3 m. wide, and decorated on the outside by buttresses. Stretches of wall on the southern and western margins of the site also had on their interior faces rows of monumental arches with rounded and pointed vaults over 3 m. high. The complex was evidently entered by means of a small gateway at the eastern end of the site which allowed access not only directly to the Fort but also to a steep ramp (not shown) which led from the main door of the Fort to a triangular-headed doorway near the building's south-east corner. This doorway exited onto South Street which led to the South Court and the centre of the complex.

The Squatter's Occupation

The abandonment of the period I main occupation presents a bizarre archaeological enigma in that various buildings and areas were blocked up with deposits of shale or mudbrick packing but the details are peripheral to the objectives of this study.⁴⁰ After this abandonment, there is evidence for a squatter's occupation of uncertain duration in various areas of the site. Most information on this phase comes from the Columned Hall where a complex deposit of rebuildings, repairs and alterations to the insubstantial squatter's structures was found above the floor of the hall and beneath the fallen debris of its mudbrick walls. The architecture is undistinguished, consisting of thin partition walls strung out between the columns to form a series of small rooms, each approximately 4 m. square. Various domestic features, such as benches, hearths, bins, mudbrick platforms and three ovens, were also uncovered.⁴¹

A wide range of objects, largely utilitarian in character, was found in these levels but is largely unpublished.⁴² The pottery from the squatter's occupation in the hall is described as similar to that from the fallen floor in room 18 of the Fort.⁴³ Additional evidence of this squatter's phase was found to the south of the Central Temple where another series of small, irregular rooms was uncovered. On the basis of the similarity of the parallels between the pottery from the Columned Hall and that from room 18 of the Fort, it is likely that the latter was also reoccupied by the squatters.⁴⁴

Pottery: Period I

Due to the fact that all of the major structures were either founded on bedrock or on artificial platforms, it has proved difficult to establish the architectural sequence within the site on the basis of stratigraphy. All that can be said with any degree of conviction is that the Central Temple precedes the Fort and the Old Western Building precedes the Columned Hall, and that some time after the abandonment of the main period I occupation, there was a squatter's occupation of unknown duration.⁴⁵

The period I pottery, with the sole exception of the corpus from room 18 of the Fort, has yet to be systematically published. A brief review of available information on the pottery shows that there are few contexts that can be definitely associated with the main occupation phase. From the cella (room 1) of the Central Temple, various buff ware vessels were recovered; two of these, a small wide-mouthed pot with opposed vertical handles and a bowl fragment decorated with rim knobs, have been published (fig. 26:7, 10). In the antechamber (room 2A) a number of beak-spouted, basket-handled jars were found; these are unpublished but a somewhat similar vessel was excavated in room 22 of the Fort (fig. 27:1).⁴⁶ The only other sealed context, definitely to be associated with the main occupation, is room 40 which was blocked by the construction of the Columned Hall. The room contained a small collection of common ware bowls, several having horizontal handles at the rim (fig. 26:1-3, 5-6, 11).

All other published pottery either demonstrably comes from squatting levels or contexts that are ambiguous and which must therefore be assumed to be late until demonstrated otherwise. The largest

corpus of pottery and the only one systematically described is that from the fallen floor in room 18 of the Fort.⁴⁷ This corpus included a wide variety of large and small bowls, jars and pots, some of the latter being spouted (figs. 28-31). The corpus is given more detailed treatment below. Although the context is ambiguous, it is Stronach's opinion that, because of the many parallels between this corpus and the unpublished pottery from the squatting levels in the Columned Hall, the room 18 material must date to the late Median squatting phase.⁴⁸ The Fort provided a number of other isolated finds of pottery including a bridged beak-spouted jar decorated with a horned zoomorphic element from room 22 (fig. 27:1), a small jar with vertical opposed handles surmounted by plain knobs from the same room (fig. 27:2) and a small, wide-mouthed pot with opposed vertical handles from the fill of an arrowslot in trench N 11, probably room 23 (fig. 26:8). Room 11 of the later magazines north of the Fort contained a small bowl with a horizontal handle at the rim (fig. 26:4) and a small jar with opposed verticle handles (fig. 26:9). Room 4, a small, high level, squatter's occupation south-east of the Central Temple, yielded a large pot with a flared spout and an opposed vertical handle (fig. 27:3), a type known from the room 18 corpus (cf. fig. 30:1-2). Finally, high floors in the area just east of the Fort (squares S9 and T9), which were previously thought to be Achaemenid, had various types of small jars which are paralleled at Baba Jan period I.⁴⁹

A total of 130 vessels were recovered from the fallen floor in room 18 of the Fort; in all likelihood, these are to be associated with the squatter's occupation. The variety of shapes is extremely limited and largely restricted to functional vessels with little or

no elaboration or decoration. The majority of the 121 vessels are of common ware, but cooking ware and crumbly ware are also present as are four examples of grey ware.

Common ware. The fabric is normally pink or red with an off-white or reddish surface colour. Shale platelettes, gold mica, quartz particles, and calcareous noduli are all found as inclusions. Most of the vessels (except for pithoi and the largest bowls) are wheelmade and most are burnished but with little or no lustre. The most common shape (55 exemplars) is a small bowl, usually with a horizontal handle and a rim treatment that varies from simple pinched through thickened to "beaded" (fig. 28:1-27). Large bowls with straight flared sides, opposed horizontal handles and a variety of inturned rims are also fairly frequent (16 exemplars; figs. 28:28-29; 29:1, 4, 5, 8). The second most common category is that of small jars (23 exemplars) usually with opposed vertical handles and simple pinched rims (fig. 29:9-12). Two interesting specimens have "horned" handles (fig. 29:13-14). Large jars are equally frequent (24 exemplars), the most common shape being those with a tall body, constricted neck and one vertical handle (fig. 30:3-12); less common are wide-mouthed jars with a flaring trumpet spout and an opposed vertical handle (fig. 30:1-2). Miscellaneous forms include jars with or without handles (fig. 31:1-9). Finally, pithoi occur in common ware; the range of shapes is varied as is rim treatment but the most common form has a trough-like rim (fig. 31:11). The pithoi are often decorated with applied cordons which are impressed either with a finger or a sharp edge.

Grey ware. The fabric is dark grey to almost black with minute mica grits as inclusions. Vessels are wheelmade and carefully burnished or polished. Only four examples are known from room 18 but if one includes grey ware vessels from other areas on the site, it would seem that all are small pots and jars, although types vary greatly. Known shapes include a small pot with opposed vertical handles and incised decoration on the body (fig. 31:13), very similar to common ware pots (cf. fig. 29:10), and a vessel with an unbridged "horned" spout (fig. 31:14). Two small jar bases in grey ware are also shown (fig. 31:15-16).

Cooking ware. A few vessels occurred in what is called "cooking" ware; however, additional examples from elsewhere in the settlement allow the following generalizations. Most examples are fire-blackened and have a fabric which varies in composition from loose to compact and contains large quantities of silver mica and elongated quartz grits. The surface of the vessels usually has an irregular burnish. Vessels are handmade. The most typical shape has a slight carination very low on the body (fig. 31:17); less common are pots with a more rounded form (fig. 31:18).

Crumbly ware. The fabric is pink/buff, very friable, and has large gold mica inclusions. The use of this ware is restricted to large, flat, rectangular tray-like vessels with low walls and rounded corners; no complete example is known.

Godin Tepe

Located during a 1961 archaeological survey in the Kangavar Valley, Godin Tepe is situated on the south bank of the Khorram Rud river in a position to exercise control over the major line of communication through central-west Iran.⁵⁰ With a total area of approximately 14-15 ha. and a maximum elevation of ca. 30 m., Godin is the largest and highest site between Hāmadan and Kermanshah. Rising in three stages, the configuration of the mound lends itself to relatively easy fortification.

Excavations began at the site in 1965 and continued biennially until 1973.⁵¹ Nine major periods of occupation (XI-II) were identified, ranging in date from the sixth millennium B.C. to the mid-first millennium B.C. Apart from three early burials and, on the south edge of the citadel mound, some fragmentary walls, the Iron Age occupation of the site was limited to a single, monumental architectural complex situated on the Upper Citadel, the highest area of the mound (fig. 8). This period II structure had a complex evolution spanning what must have been a considerable length of time. The following description of the phases of construction must, of necessity, be brief but the steps involved can be clearly followed in figs. 10-11.

Period III:1 is the designation given to the uppermost levels of the terminal Bronze Age occupation at Godin, corresponding to strata 6-5 in the master section.⁵² Period II building operations which, in some areas, involved the "shaving" of the uppermost Bronze Age levels to create flat areas, have largely obscured the

stratigraphical relationship between III and II. Gross comparisons of architecture and pottery leave little doubt that there exists an abrupt cultural break. There are indications, however, that a brief occupation intervened between period III:1 and the establishment of the main period II structure. Operation A, stratum 5, in the area of A2 and AA2, exposed the very fragmentary remains of a building level. Only a small amount of pottery was recovered from this context and it is described as more related to period II than to III.⁵³

Phase 1

The first phase of the original period II structure comprised two large columned halls (6 and 9) set with their long axes at right angles in an L-shaped arrangement.⁵⁴ The approximate dimensions of the structure were ca. 65 m. E-W and ca. 32 m. N-S. Five projecting towers of various dimensions reinforced the outer walls. The only known entrance to the building was located in the south-east corner of hall 6. The method of access to hall 9 is not known. No stone foundations were used in the construction of the walls of the building. Instead, in some areas, a brick socle or platform was constructed and the period II walls were laid down on this base; in other areas, the walls lay directly over period III deposits. The defensive wall was ca. 2.3 m. in width, although later reinforcement and additions have considerably thickened it in some areas. The wall was decorated with buttresses and recesses on the external face and provided with arrow-slots.

Hall 6, a trapezoid in plan with maximum dimensions of 31.5 by 11.5 m., had its roof supported by two rows of eight columns each. No other internal features of the original structure have been noted. Hall 9 is almost square in plan with maximum dimensions of 27 by 25 m. Six rows of five columns each supported the roof, the columns being based on flat undressed stone slabs set flush with the mud-plastered floor as in hall 6. The build-up of accumulated deposit in the hall and two replasterings of the floor eventually covered these bases. Plastered mudbrick benches were added to the north, east, and west sides of the hall with interruptions only to provide access to rooms 10, 13, and 50. In some areas of the benches there were traces of red lime and white lime plaster in addition to the original buff plaster coating. Approximately halfway along the north wall was a special seat, 1.6 m. wide, slightly higher than the level of the bench, projecting from the line of the bench in front, and provided with a footrest on the floor. About 4.7 m. in front of this "throne," but slightly offset due to the disposition of the columns, was a square hearth, approximately 1.75 m. on a side, and three brick courses high.

Rooms 10 and 13 evidently functioned as guardtowers and had no remarkable features, except for the cobbled paving in room 10. On the other hand, room 50 showed several features that set it apart from the other projecting bastions surrounding the columned hall in the first phase. The interior of the room was surrounded on all sides with a mudbrick and plastered wall bench, broken only by the doorway

on the west side. The north wall bench had a central raised and projecting seat, analogous to the one in the columned hall. In the centre of room 50 was a single round column base made of plaster built up around an uncut stone block. Other features of the first phase worth noting for their presence or absence are the reveals on the insides of doorways and the lack of any domestic facilities.

Phase 2

In the eastern sector of the site, the first stage of additions involved the construction of a new defensive wall, including a tower (room 17), enclosing a series of long, rectangular rooms, the "magazines" (rooms 19-24), opening onto a southern corridor (room 26). The magazines were all provided with thin curtain walls and doorways at their southern ends. The doorway to room 21 was fortunately preserved to its full height; its small size and awkward design obliges one to stoop over and enter the room as if passing through a window. The magazines proved to be sterile and nothing was found in them that might have indicated their use.⁵⁵ Rooms 26 and 24 functioned as corridors, giving access to rooms 19-23 and tower 17, respectively. The doorway to tower 17 was also extant to its full height. It was constructed in a manner similar to the doorways in the Nush-i Jan Fort.

Phase 3

The third stage in the eastern sector involved the addition of an almost mirror-image to the northern magazines, comprising rooms 27-32 and room 34. Rooms 28-32 lack the restricted entrances of the northern magazines but their number, size and shape suggest that their function was not too dissimilar.⁵⁶ Room 27 was a corridor

leading to both the southern tier of magazines and to room 34, a tower notable for its curved outer wall.

Phase 4

In the eastern sector, four areas were provided with additions. The relative sequence of these additions cannot be sorted out as they are not contiguous components and they may have all been added simultaneously or in any other sequence. A small square enclosure, room 33, with direct access to the outside and with buttressed and recessed outer walls, was added to the east side of the magazine complex. To the north of this, the defensive wall was extended from tower 17 further to the east and continuing the buttressed and recessed pattern of the original; this extension must return to the main complex at some point but presumably the juncture was somewhere along the southern wall where erosion has obliterated the evidence. A rectangular addition comprising two rooms (36-37) was added to the south-east corner of the magazine block. The thickness of the walls in this addition, the south wall being 4 m. in width, suggests that an unusually high tower may have been located here.

● Additions to the main structure in the western sector of the site included a small, columned hall, an associated tower at north-western corner of the complex (rooms 15-16) and later two rooms flanking the southern face of the two western columned halls (rooms 11 and 52). The walls of these structures were very poorly preserved due to erosion and often no more than a few centimetres high. Internal appointments of these rooms are therefore for the most part not known. Hall 16 is basically rectangular but with a constricted southern end

due to the inclusion of tower 10. The maximum dimensions of the hall are approximately 13 by 26 m. and the roof was supported by two rows of five columns each, the southern pair being slightly offset from the others because of the presence of tower 16. The former external west face of columned hall 9 had its recesses bricked up and mudbrick benches have been traced around most of the interior of hall 16. A short break in these wall benches towards the northern end of the east wall suggests a possible door at this point leading into hall 9 and, indeed, investigation of the west wall of hall 9 at the same spot showed that there had been a corresponding gap in the wall that was filled in at a later stage.

We have, therefore, two phases of additions in the western sector—first, the columned hall 16 and associated tower 15 and second, the southern rooms 11 and 52. Although these do not appear in figs. 10-11 until phase 4, there is, in fact, no reason that they could not have been added as early as phase 2.

Other phase 4 additions were discovered in the area south of hall 6. An angled wall was constructed from the south-east corner of room 50 to the south-west corner of room 34, enclosing an irregularly-shaped area which was further subdivided by a number of walls. For the first time in the evolution of the entire complex, we have evidence of an area with purely domestic functions. Room 46 seems to have been a kitchen with two ovens and a drain which began in room 49. The roof of room 46 was supported by four columns whose bases were found laid out in a neat square. To the north of room 46 were two small, rectangular rooms of unknown function. A short stretch of paved passageway (room 44) led to hall 6 or via area 43

to the magazine complex.

Areas 40-42 are somewhat problematical. Area 42 contained a short flight of stairs rising to the east which had been rebuilt at least once after a rise in the floor level. Presumably these stairs led to an upper storey over the magazine complex. The thick mudbrick pier to the east of the stairs perhaps supported an extension of them in mudbrick or wood. Various, evidently unbonded walls, separate areas 40 and 41 in an irregular manner.

Phase 4 brings us to the end of the life of the main period II occupation. The duration of the latter is difficult to assess but given the long list of additions and frequent evidence of repair and reconstruction, it would seem probable that some reasonable length of time is involved, perhaps a minimum of one to two centuries from foundation to abandonment.⁵⁷

Phase 5

The main period II occupation was abandoned in apparently peaceful circumstances and either then or later the site was stripped of all useful items and materials.⁵⁸ No destruction level attended this phenomenon. Following an hiatus of unknown duration, hall 6, and the area to the south (rooms 40-49) were reoccupied by squatters (fig. 9). Both of these areas were further subdivided by numerous, irregular and flimsy walls. Possibly also to be associated with this phase 5 occupation are hearths and associated domestic pottery in tower 5 and magazine 28. Other hearths, shallow mud-bins, and frequent rebuilding of walls, particularly in areas 7 and 8, add up to a picture of a reasonably protracted, essentially domestic, squatting occupation.

Pottery: Period II

Although the major part of the period II pottery, especially the fine ware, is probably to be associated with the latest phase of the main occupation, it cannot be reliably separated from that belonging to the squatter's occupation. Period II pottery must therefore be treated as a whole and regarded as providing a terminus ante quem for the main occupation. All the pottery is wheelmade and can be divided into three wares--coarse, common, and fine--on the basis of fabric.⁵⁹

Coarse ware. The ware is typified by medium to large quartz grit inclusions often accompanied by gold or silver mica flakes. The fabric is hard, fairly well-fired with a light buff, fully-oxidized core but the fracture is relatively uneven. Surface colour ranges from light tan to reddish-brown and is often smoke-blackened. Surface finish is usually smooth with occasional light burnishing. Vessels are thick-walled. The most common shape in coarse ware is a globular, "cooking-pot" with an extremely wide mouth and a variety of fairly simple everted rims; see fig. 34:1, 6, 7, and 9.

Common ware. Inclusions range from medium to fine grits, some white quartz grains and occasional flakes of mica. Fabric is nearly always well-fired, fairly hard, and with a relatively even fracture. Vessel wall thickness is intermediate between coarse and fine wares. It can always be distinguished from fine ware but at the other end of the fabric range, common ware merges with coarse ware. Two varieties have been established based on surface colour and finish:

- (1) Plain buff: fabric is usually buff-pink but ranges from light tan to almost red. Vessels are usually well burnished and sometimes polished.
- (2) Red slipped: fabric has a thick, fairly dark red to maroon slip. Surfaces are always burnished and often polished.

Common ware shapes are difficult to characterize because they show such wide variation. Jars, pots and bowls are the main shape categories; all show a wide variety of rim treatment ranging from simple pinched to highly elaborate flanged rims. Jars with a single upright handle are fairly common; see figs. 32:2, 3, 5, and 12; 33:12, 17. Double-handled jars also occur; fig. 33:1. A highly distinctive type is the jar with an upright, trefoil spout; figs. 32:4; 33:17(?), 19. For the most part, pots have short necks often accentuated by a raised rib or a slight carination; figs. 32:7-10, 14; 33:2-7, 9, 11, 14-16. However, high, flared necks also occur and are distinctive; fig. 33:8, 10, 18. Bowl shapes are discussed below in conjunction with fine ware.

Fine ware. The fabric is completely homogenous and inclusions are not visible to the naked eye. The fabric is well-fired, very hard, and breaks with a clean, sharp fracture. Four variants are distinguished on the basis of surface colour and finish.

- (1) Plain buff: usually light buff but with a colour range from light tan to orange. Always burnished and often highly polished. Vessel walls frequently extremely thin though at the other end of the range, thickness overlaps with common ware vessels.
- (2) Red-slipped: distinguished by a light to heavy, dark red slip and always polished; otherwise similar to plain buff variant.
- (3) Brown: characterized by a light to dark brown surface colour but in all other respects similar to plain buff.

- (4) Grey: light grey to black in colour of both fabric and surface and probably no more than the plain buff variety fired in a reducing atmosphere.

The most common shape in fine ware is the bowl but small pots also occur, as do a few jars; for pots, see figs. 33:4, 15, 35:1-5 and for jars see the red-slipped specimen in fig. 35:10 and the extremely fine jar with flaring neck flanked by horned handles in fig. 35:20. Particularly distinguished fine ware bowls are exemplified by fig. 40:11, 18. For the most part, however, both fine and common wares shared the same general range of bowl shapes with such a degree of variation and distinctiveness that well over one hundred types have been recognized. Although the bowls defy brief characterization, it is worth noting some of the more distinctive features; these include bowls with a horizontal handle (figs. 34:16; 37:1, 9; 38:8-9; 39:4, 8-9), carinated bowls (e.g., fig. 34:4, 10, 13), bowls with rim knobs (fig. 38:23), flanged rims (figs. 34:11; 35:19; 38:5; 40:12) and broad, flared rims (figs. 35:17-18; 36:4). Of special interest are the "frying pans" in both common and fine ware (fig. 37:4-5) and the "grater" (fig. 37:6).

Miscellaneous wares. Three varieties of miscellaneous wares are represented by half-a-dozen sherds. These include three sherds of a fabric similar to common ware but with a grey-brown slip and a matte or smooth finish, possibly to be associated with the so-called Achaemenid Dark-face burnished ware (fig. 33:17). Two other sherds also in common ware have a white slip which resembles that commonly found at both Ziwiye and the Zendan. Finally, the highly distinctive "clinky" or "cinnamon" ware of the Hellenistic-Parthian period is

represented by a single sherd with the characteristic orange surface colour and distinct grey core.

The Relative Ceramic Chronology of Central-West Iran

Having described the architecture and pottery of these three sites, the next task is to establish a relative chronology for the various units. Following that, evidence bearing on the absolute chronology of the central-west Iranian sequence will be reviewed as will data derived from surface surveys in the area.

A short preamble on method does not go amiss at this point. Two categories of comparanda have been utilized to establish a relative chronology, namely architecture and pottery. Architecture is of considerably less importance because the artifact, in this case monumental structures, has an extended life. For example, bearing in mind the numerous architectural parallels between the main structures at Godin II, Baba Jan III and Nush-i Jan I, one might be tempted to argue that the foundations of these complexes were all contemporaneous. However, because of the longevity of structures, particularly those of this type, and the possibility that the structure could be used as a paradigm at any stage of its existence, this tactic would be potentially misleading. Architectural parallels cannot be used to establish anything more than very approximate contemporaneity and to help in the defining of cultural zones sharing common architectural concepts. The major impetus for examining the architecture of the central-west Iranian sites is to test the proposition that they form part of a continuum of architectural development, the earliest stages of which we see in Hasanlu V and IV and the latest stages culminating

in the columned halls of Achaemenid Pasargadae and Persepolis.

Pottery is of greatest importance in establishing a relative chronology because the artifact is short-lived and reflects subtle change through time. In establishing ceramic parallels, I have chosen shape as the most important criterion; subsumed within this are such general factors as ware and overall size. At this preliminary stage, it serves no useful purpose to draw distinctions between common and fine wares. Miscellaneous features such as handles, lugs, bases and decorative elements are noted as independent variables.

Given that publication from all three sites has been selective and that the individual excavator's rationale has undoubtedly varied, any argument based solely on quantification of parallels could lead one seriously astray.⁶⁰ The numbers of tabulated parallels consequently need interpretation. Comparative ceramic typology in archaeology remains a highly subjective business; compounding the problem in this situation are a number of factors that cannot pass unmentioned. Ideally, comparanda should come only from stratigraphically well-defined contexts. Were this rule rigorously applied to the central-west Iranian pottery, we would be left with little to discuss. One must, therefore, work with the material at hand but the following points should be kept in mind throughout the discussion.

Both Godin II and Nush-i Jan I are mixed levels. In each case, the main occupation was followed after an hiatus by a squatting occupation of the same cultural horizon and with no marked ceramic shift. Except for a few sealed deposits at Nush-i Jan, it is not possible stratigraphically to separate the pottery of the main occupation from that of the subsequent squatter's occupation. At

Godin, it is feasible and reasonable to argue that the very fine wares are inconsistent with a squatting level and must therefore be associated with the elite structures of the main occupation but this cannot be demonstrated from sealed contexts.

It is not to be expected that in the normal use of the monumental structures at both Godin and Nush-i Jan ceramic refuse would be allowed to accumulate over a considerable period of time. Therefore, even the Godin fine wares must date to the last decade or two of the main occupation. Fine ware ceramic parallels therefore provide at best only a terminus ante quem for such. Given the long sequence of architectural rebuilding and additions this pottery must postdate the foundation of the complex by a considerable period. Apart from the fine ware, which exists only at Godin, the ordinary common ware from both sites must be taken as being from the later squatter's occupations.

It is difficult to estimate the length of the hiatus separating the end of the main occupation at Godin from the subsequent squatter's occupation. Taken as a whole, the pottery gives every indication of being a relatively homogenous corpus, suggesting strong cultural continuity between the two occupations with little chronological separation. In addition, there was no evidence of substantial wash levels or major collapse separating the two occupations. This last observation cannot, however, be taken entirely at face value; the positioning of the squatter's walls in columned hall 6 makes it clear that the columns were no longer in position and that the roof must have been brought down. It is therefore possible that the squatters initially cleared out much of the debris that would have indicated an extended hiatus. Consequently, the length of the hiatus between the two

occupations remains an unsolved problem.

At Nush-i Jan, as at Godin, the sequence of building activities suggests that the duration of the main occupation was of considerable length. Here also, we are faced with the problem of an hiatus of unknown duration between the late main occupation and the squatting levels. In this case, however, there are two sealed contexts that must be associated with the main occupation. Room 40 of the Old Western Building, sealed by the construction of the Columned Hall, contained a number of bowls (fig. 26:1-3, 5-6, 11). The Central Temple also yielded a number of vessels, including a small two-handled pot from the floor of room 1 (fig. 26:7), a number of beak-spouted, basket-handled jars from the antechamber, room 2A (unpublished, but cf. fig. 27:1), and a bowl from the lower stone fill (fig. 26:10). As it is highly unlikely that the careful infilling of the Central Temple can be associated with the squatter's occupation, we are on fairly safe grounds in attributing these vessels to the main occupation.⁶¹

The major corpus of published pottery from Nush-i Jan is that from the upper floor of room 18 in the Fort (figs. 28-30). Its context is ambiguous but it is described as very similar to discrete, but unpublished, squatter's pottery from the Columned Hall.⁶² Fig. 27:3 shows a trefoil-spouted jar from a high level room outside the Central Temple that can definitely be associated with the squatting occupation. Other published forms (figs. 26:8-9; 27:1) are from uncertain contexts.

When we compare the corpus from room 18 to those from the Central Temple and room 40, we find exact parallels for the two-handled

pots, the horizontal-handled bowls, and the trefoil-spouted jar.

Unless Stronach is mistaken about the attribution of the room 18 pottery, such precise correspondence can only mean that the squatter's occupation followed very shortly after the abandonment of the site. This conclusion is reinforced by noting that the positioning of squatter's walls in the Columned Hall clearly shows that the columns, and by implication the roof, were still in position. The hiatus therefore cannot have been other than brief and we are therefore dealing with a homogenous ceramic corpus.

The conclusion that tentatively emerges from this brief examination of the Godin and Nush-i Jan ceramics and their contextual association is that, although in both cases we know that the pottery is a mixture from two occupations, the time interval is probably so small as to be negligible for our purposes here. In the wide variety of forms published from Godin, there must be some that characterize the earlier part of the main occupation but these cannot be isolated stratigraphically nor, for the time being, typologically and their influence is mitigated by the large mass of pottery which must be associated with the closing decades of the main occupation and the latter squatter's occupation.

Because of limited publication, it is difficult in many cases to ascertain the exact stratigraphical context of pottery types from the Baba Jan sequence. Wherever such information is available, it is provided in the lists accompanying the pottery figures. Some general observations should be made which will help to clarify the situation. Virtually all of the pottery from Baba Jan III is in excellent context. The occupation was founded on virgin soil and later effectively sealed

by massive destruction layers. Period III pottery from the Central Mound must be treated with some caution. The three phases of period III occupation in this area are relatively shallow and, being the last occupation, were never sealed by subsequent deposition.

The duration of the hiatus between periods III and II on the East Mound at Baba Jan is also difficult to assess. While the walls of the burned Fort were still standing to a considerable height at the time of the initial period II reoccupation, this means little. Published sections show no evidence of wash and erosion levels intervening between the two occupations.⁶³ It would appear from this that the hiatus was brief and this conclusion seems to be supported by the ceramic evidence.

Excellent examples of painted Baba Jan III common ware continue to occur throughout period II (figs. 19:3; 20:18-20; 21:1, 9) though Goff notes that they become rare by phase IIB and there is an overall tendency for the designs to become simplified.⁶⁴ The latter phenomenon may well be due to the functional change in the nature of the occupation. Continuity can also be observed in the period II plain wares which have close or exact parallels in form in period III vessels (e.g., fig. 21:11, 13, 14, 15; cf. figs. 12:4; 14:3; 15:37; 18:2, respectively). Such marked ceramic continuity in shape, ware and, to a lesser degree, in decoration suggests that no great chronological gap separates period III from period II. The most marked ceramic shift is the introduction of the so-called "Imported Ware." Without more detailed publication of ceramic contexts and associated sections, subtle shifts in the pottery of the period cannot be reliably detected and the duration of the period as a whole is difficult to assess.

A thick layer of decayed mudbrick, stratum 4, was observed to run over the latest ITA/B walls and immediately underlie period I foundations. This alone would suggest a long hiatus separating late period II and early period I. The pottery of period I has been accorded only very limited publication to date and while there are forms that have exact parallels in period II ceramics, such as trefoil-spouted pots (fig. 25:16), new forms also appear. According to Goff, "the bulk of level I pottery is easy to distinguish from what has gone before, both in fabric and shape."⁶⁵ It is not clear, however, whether she is including in this comparison the period II Imported ware which shares obvious common features in form and ware with the period I pottery or whether she is referring solely to Baba Jan III/II common ware.

With those remarks on contexts and periodization we can now turn to the interpretation of the typological parallels that are set out in table 1. Because of its unique stratified and well-dated sequence, Hasanlu remains of pivotal importance in the comparative ceramic chronology of western Iran. Since Young's pioneering synthesis, there has been little change in this chronology with the following exceptions. Hasanlu IIIB is now recognized as an Urartian foundation and cannot therefore be much later than the end of the seventh century B.C.⁶⁶ Following brief soundings at Ziwiye in 1964, it now appears that the site had a more extended life than Young deduced from the apparently homogenous surface sherdage with which he worked. At least three stages of rebuilding exist as well as a much later occupation which is probably to be dated to the fifth century B.C.⁶⁷ Similarly at Agrab Tepe, three phases of occupation are evident in

the architectural remains, a phenomenon that went unrecognized during most of the excavation.⁶⁸ Pottery from the site must therefore be considered as mixed. The Iron I-II material from Dinka III-II, mostly from graves, has now been published and thus expands the repertoire of ceramic forms for the Hasanlu V-IV range.⁶⁹ Recent sondages in the Ville Royale II at Susa by de Miroschedji have allowed him to establish firm links between levels 6-7 and Achaemenid Village I, confirming the dating of the latter between ca. 750 B.C. and the beginning of the Achaemenid period as originally suggested by Young.⁷⁰

Table 1 embodies the results of the typological analysis of the pottery from Baba Jan (largely II-I), Nush-i Jan I and Godin Tepe II. As the primary concern is to establish a sequence in central-west Iran; parallels to sites outside that region have been kept to a minimum and are cited wherever some chronological significance is suspected. Table 2 summarizes the interconnections between the various components analyzed, totalling both strong and weak parallels between specific units of material. Finally, on the basis of these parallels and their interpretation a tentative comparative stratigraphy is presented in fig. 42 which should be consulted throughout the following discussion.

It is clear that the pottery of Godin II, representing the latest part of the main occupation and the subsequent squatter's occupation, is firmly tied as a whole to other late seventh and early sixth century B.C. sites. A total of 26 ceramic parallels (including 5 weak ones) link Godin II to Hasanlu IIIB/A (undifferentiated) Ziwiye and late seventh century B.C. Nimrud. Of these, six parallels are specifically to Hasanlu IIIA, even although published

material identified as such is exceedingly limited. A further 20 parallels (8 weak) link Godin II to Pasargadae, although it should be noted that many are to ceramic types that evidently enjoyed a long popularity, surviving into the late and post-Achaemenid periods. However, while the cited parallels are, for the most part, reasonably close, there is no overall resemblance between Godin II and Pasargadae; this need not be interpreted as militating against a late seventh-early sixth century B.C. date for Godin since Achaemenid occupation at Pasargadae continued down to the early third century B.C. and, as one would expect, much of the pottery is from the latest stages of that occupation.

It is unfortunate that the pottery from the post-Urartian levels at the Hallenbau in Bastam is still unavailable. This Median occupation evidently followed hard after the destruction of the site in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. and promises to be an important horizon marker in the Iron Age of western Iran. Only two forms (types 1, 6e) have been published from these levels and they readily find a match in the Godin II assemblage, but the first of those types, a shallow bowl with a horizontal handle on a pinched rim is also found at Baba Jan II, Nush-i Jan I, Giyan I¹, and the Zendan-i Suleiman and would seem to have only general chronological significance.⁷¹

Nevertheless, insofar as the available comparanda allow an assessment to be made, a late seventh-early sixth century B.C. date for the Godin II pottery is fairly secure. Without further excavation, the isolation of discrete units of pottery ordered by stratigraphical succession and backed-up with radiocarbon data, a more precise dating is impossible.

Neither Nush-i Jan I (13 parallels, 5 weak) nor Baba Jan I (8 parallels, 3 weak) show as strong a connection as Godin II with Hasanlu III, Ziwiye and Nimrud. In addition, they also show fewer parallels with Pasargadae, Baba Jan I having 9 (2 weak) and Nush-i Jan I having only 13 (5 weak). To what extent this reflects the limited publication of both these ceramic corpora cannot be determined and the significance of these statistics is uncertain. At this stage their value lies only in the fact that the suggested chronological precedence of Nush-i Jan I as shown in fig. 42 seems confirmed by the smaller number of established connections to late seventh-early sixth century B.C. material. The relationship of these two units to Godin II requires further evaluation.

Having suggested the chronological precedence of Nush-i Jan I over Godin II on the basis of the figures above, it would seem immediately paradoxical that the two units are linked by no fewer than 30 parallels (7 weak). The paradox is to some extent solved if we eliminate from consideration those types which also appear at Baba Jan I. The rationale for this is as follows. Baba Jan I would appear to be later than Nush-i Jan I because the latter shows stronger parallels with Baba Jan II (20 parallels, 5 weak) than with the later occupation (17 parallels, 2 weak).

Therefore there is some justification for regarding those ceramic types shared by Nush-i Jan I, Baba Jan I and Godin II as being relatively long-lived forms and for concentrating on those parallels which link Godin II and Nush-i Jan I without appearing in the later occupation at Baba

Jan I. Of the 30 parallels established between Godin-II and Nush-i Jan I, 9 also occur at Baba Jan I. If we break down the remaining 21 parallels between Godin I and Nush-i Jan I by typological category, we find that the strongest connections are established by bowl forms (10 parallels), to a lesser extent by various simple jar forms (4 parallels, 1 weak) and with only tenuous connections in pots (6 parallels, 4 weak) and miscellaneous features (1 parallel). Of the bowl forms, no less than five occur at Godin II in fine ware and an additional two, while of common ware paste, are very fine-walled types.

I would suggest, therefore, that since the fine wares and very thin-walled bowls are probably to be associated with the elite main occupation at Godin II, rather than the later squatting occupation, the strongest ceramic connections are between Nush-i Jan I and the Godin II main occupation. Consequently, fig. 42 shows the abandonment of the Nush-i Jan I main occupation as preceding the similar abandonment of the Godin II main occupation. Although Godin II as a whole and Nush-i Jan I as a whole are obviously fairly close both culturally and chronologically, it is interesting to note the presence at the latter of some well-defined ceramic types that simply do not appear in the ceramic repertoire of Godin II. Worthy of particular note are the small and large bowls with incurved or hooked rims and the small, two-handled pots (types 10a-d, 30). Both types occur frequently in the Baba Jan II assemblage.

Turning now to ceramic parallels between Godin II and Baba Jan II and I, we find that Godin and Baba Jan I are linked by 7 parallels (4 weak) while Godin and Baba Jan II are linked by another

17 parallels (8 weak). Once again these bald figures require closer scrutiny. The majority of the 17 cited parallels between Godin II and Baba Jan II either fall into general classes (types 1, 2, 3, 62) which in most cases have exemplars also in Baba Jan I or are weak parallels of uncertain value (types 6b, 12a, 13, 23, 30, 34, 39, 40). Of the remaining 5 parallels, one is heavy cooking-ware (type 19), a category of vessel which has yet to be published from Baba Jan I and the rest are relatively simple shapes. Specific parallels are extremely few. In short, upon further investigation the 17 cited parallels between Godin II and Baba Jan II betray a generic connection, but not one with a sufficiently high number of good parallels as to suggest contemporaneity.

This line of argument receives support from an examination of the ceramic connections between Godin II and Baba Jan I. Of the 17 parallels connecting the two units, the majority are to specific types which do not appear in the more extensively published Baba Jan II assemblage (types 3, 6c, 7c, 7e, 7f, 9b, 9h, 13, 29, 49). This is all the more remarkable considering the very limited publication of the Baba Jan I ceramics. The conclusion that Baba Jan I is contemporary with the latest occupation at Godin II seems inescapable.

To some degree the correlations suggested above are also borne out by the types of wares found in the pottery of the three sites. Micaceous ware constitutes the bulk of the pottery from Godin II, Nush-i Jan I, and Baba Jan I and is also well-represented although not perhaps dominant in the pottery of Baba Jan II. What ties Godin II and Baba Jan I together, while excluding Nush-i Jan I, is the presence of fine ware, including the red-slipped variety, at both

sites. Curiously, true fine ware does not seem to be present in Nush-i Jan I despite the elite nature of the main occupation. In addition, burnishing and slipping are also rare. Since the elite main occupations at both Godin II and Nush-i Jan I must overlap chronologically, and considering the evidently similar function of the two sites, the absence of any evidence of the fine wares at Nush-i Jan is puzzling, particularly when several of the parallels between Nush-i Jan I and Godin II are to fine ware bowl shapes in the latter. It is possible that the development of true fine ware was a phenomenon that postdated the abandonment of the main occupation at Nush-i Jan I and this has been incorporated into fig. 42.

The procedure to this point has been one of fixing the lower end of the central-west Iranian sequence in relation to sites known to be dated to the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. and working backwards from there with the ultimate objective of clarifying the upper and earliest part of the sequence. Establishing an upper limit is, however, problematical. As my preceding remarks indicate, even the approximate duration of the main occupations at Godin and Nush-i Jan is unknown and in neither case do we have stratified material that can be reliably associated with the foundation of these occupations. While the uppermost Bronze Age levels of Godin III:1 can be used to establish a rough terminus post quem for Godin II, a point to which I will return later, Nush-i Jan was founded on bedrock.

This leaves us with Baba Jan Tepe as the only central-west Iranian site with a sequence. The appearance of the Imported ware in Baba Jan II is an important marker tying the latter closely by numerous

and specific ceramic parallels to the late main occupation and subsequent squatting phase at Nush-i Jan. The first problem to be resolved is the relationship between the Imported ware of Baba Jan II and the period III/II common ware with the objective of determining whether the Imported ware is indeed an intrusive phenomenon or whether it may possibly be understood as a development out of the Baba Jan III period and, therefore, necessarily postdating it.

The results of this analysis are shown in table 3 where I have listed all possible ceramic parallels between common ware forms from period III and Imported ware forms from period II. While there are some very general class resemblances such as bowls with horizontal handles at the rim and bowls with incurved rims, there are no good parallels between the two wares. Under these circumstances, it would seem most likely that, while the Imported ware may not have been "imported" in the strict sense of the term, it does belong to a different ceramic tradition which differs from that of Baba Jan III in both ware and range of forms.

What this means is that Imported ware arrives in the earliest phase of Baba Jan II (D/C) as a developed ceramic tradition with its origins in some other area. Further, since the hiatus between periods III and II at Baba Jan is evidently brief as argued earlier, the Imported ware tradition in its inception elsewhere should be contemporary with Baba Jan III. This conclusion receives support from the presence of a small pot in Imported ware (fig. 22:10) which was found in an unassailable context on the floor of room 4 of the Fort.

Data which might be brought to bear on the problem of establishing the cultural affinities and relative chronology of Baba Jan

III are few.⁷² The closest ceramic parallels occur in Hasanlu V/IV, Dinkha III/II, and the Khorvin graves, all to be dated to Iron I-II.⁷³ The results of this analysis, presented in table 4, are not as conclusive as one might wish.⁷⁴ The most significant parallels are basket-handled teapots and pots with bridged and unbridged spouts, while others are extremely generalized (e.g., zoomorphic handles, knobbed and tab handles). On the other hand, the relative scarcity of parallels to assemblages of the Iron III and Achaemenid periods is significant; those that do exist are to such undiagnostic types as holemouth pots. The long sequence at Baba Jan stretching back from the late seventh, century B.C. period I, the close ceramic parallels with the excavated Khorvin graves, and the more generalized parallels to the north-western pottery in Hasanlu IV and Dinkha II provide grounds for assuming an Iron II range for the Baba Jan period III material.⁷⁵ To take the most conservative approach, a dating to the ninth century B.C. is suggested both for the period III pottery and for the contemporary micaceous buff-ware horizon.⁷⁶

Architectural Trends in the Iron Age of Western Iran

Before turning to the questions of absolute chronology, it is necessary to review the architectural evidence from central and north-west Iran. The earliest use on the Iranian plateau of the columned hall as an architectural component which has been documented so far is at Hasanlu. Perhaps the best exemplar of the tradition is Burned Building II in Hasanlu IV (fig. 43) but earlier prototypes have been excavated in Hasanlu V.⁷⁷ At the other end of the time scale, there are the monumental complexes of Pasargadae and Persepolis, and it is

understandably tempting to try to establish an evolutionary sequence embracing the central-west Iranian sites that must fall chronologically between these two extremes. To this end, a comparative list of architectural features has been compiled (table 5).

At Hasanlu, the essential architectural elements almost invariably repeated in each structure are a central rectangular columned hall with flanking rooms, an antechamber and a portico. Ground plans and good stratigraphic evidence from period V at Hasanlu suggest that the original focus was the columned hall and that features such as the portico-entrance are later elaborations. When we examine the central-west Iranian sites closely, we find that not one shares this basic theme.

At Baba Jan, the period III, phase 2 "manor" on the Central Mound had an open courtyard flanked on all sides by subsidiary rooms.⁷⁸ In phase 1, the basic phase 2 plan was preserved but the courtyard was evidently roofed over with the aid of irregularly positioned columns, resulting in a quite spurious resemblance to the Hasanlu IV Burned Buildings. In other important respects, such as orientation of the hall, the line of access, and the positioning of hearths, the two sites have nothing in common. Columns are employed in the East Mound period III complex but in the two massive columns of the Painted Chamber and the three eccentric columns in room 4 of the Fort bear no apparent relationship to the Hasanlu tradition.

At Nush-i Jan the sequence of architectural units is uncertain but the columned hall is clearly not part of the original plan and is an awkwardly positioned addition. In form it embodies quite a

different architectural concept from the Hasanlu examples, lacking flanking rooms, an antechamber, a portico, a hearth, a "throne," columns along the walls, and continuous mudbrick wall benches.

Finally, at Godin Tepe it is evident from the clear architectural sequence that columned halls 6 and 9 were built as a unit, differing certainly in form and probably also in function from the Hasanlu IV structures which were basically domestic buildings.⁷⁹

It is apparent from the comparative list of architectural traits that there are numerous features shared by the Hasanlu IV structures on the one hand and the central-west Iranian buildings on the other. It would, however, be foolhardy to overemphasize the importance of many of these traits. Features such as mudbrick benches along walls, the positioning of "thrones" in the centre of the back wall of a hall with a hearth in front, the use of columns in an area where wood was plentiful, antechambers with offset entrances, and such decorative features as reveals on doorways are of the "so what?" category and may be viewed as nothing more than common solutions to common problems or generalized architectural traits that occur throughout the Near East. It is only in the case where we can see an entire constellation of such traits along with basic elements of form and function that we can reasonably argue for strong cultural connections.

In short, the central-west Iranian structures share with Hasanlu certain aspects of a general architectural koiné of the Iranian plateau.⁸⁰ When the Hasanlu IV buildings were first excavated, they were the only pre-Achaemenid columned halls known in Iran. The central-west Iranian examples with their buff ware ceramic tradition

which tied into the Hasanlu III buff ware of the late seventh century B.C. were reasonably assumed at the time of excavation to be chronologically and typologically intermediate architectural forms. This apparently persuasive argument seemed to confirm the evolution of the Late Western Buff Ware horizon out of the earlier grey ware horizon and reinforced the hypothesis linking the appearance of grey ware in Iron I with the arrival of Iranians. A greater understanding of the architecture of the central-west Iranian sites and a detailed comparison of them to the earlier Hasanlu structures of period IV does not allow us to argue for any simple evolutionary scheme that would incorporate Hasanlu at one end and the Achaemenid complexes at the other.⁸¹ The original argument that there exists a lineal generic relationship from Hasanlu IV through Baba Jan III, Godin II and Nush-i Jan I to Persepolis and Pasargadae now appears to be of the nature post hoc ergo propter hoc, confusing sequence with consequence.

Strong parallels link all three central-west Iranian sites, both in architectural form and inferred function. In particular, the combination of columned hall, magazines and defensive traits suggest a close connection between Godin and Nush-i Jan. Godin, however, lacks anything resembling the Nush-i Jan "temples" although a formal, and perhaps also a functional, parallel may be seen in the Painted Chamber of Baba Jan III. It would be premature, given the relative longevity of monumental architectural complexes, to suggest a typological sequence of architectural form among these three sites.

Having reviewed the ceramic and architectural evidence, the moment has arrived to examine the problem of ascribing absolute dates to the sequence. Relevant radiocarbon dates for Late Bronze Age and

Iron Age occupations in western Iran are shown in table 7. Use of the MASCA correction factor has resulted in the upward revision of the chronological divisions traditionally assigned to the Iron Age as follows:⁸²

Period	Range (B.C.)	Associated Occupations
Iron I	c.1500/1450-c.1100	Hasanlu V; Dinkha III
Iron II	c.1100-c.800	Hasanlu IV; Dinkha II
Iron III	c.800-c.500	Hasanlu III; Agrab; Ziwiye

While there is a comparative wealth of radiocarbon dates from north-west Iran, there is a dearth of them from central-west Iran. Radiocarbon samples from the period III Fort at Baba Jan which would have been of critical importance for dating the upper end of the central-west Iranian sequence were all unfortunately contaminated and yielded dates of ca. 200 B.C.⁸³

Only one radiocarbon date has been published for Nush-i Jan, period I (723±220 B.C.); the sample was taken from a large piece of wood, possibly a beam fragment, from the lower levels of the stone fill in room 1 of the Central Temple.⁸⁴ Apart from its unacceptably wide margin of error, there is no assurance that the wood was part of the original structure and not introduced during the infilling of the building.

Four radiocarbon dates were retrieved from the upper levels at Godin overlying period III:1. GaK-1069 (824±103 B.C.) was associated with a fragmentary building level in Op. A, stratum 5 which ran under the main fortification wall of period II and

immediately underlay the floor of columned hall 6. P-1470 (874 \pm 41 B.C.); P-1471 (803 \pm 52 B.C.) and P-1472 (676 \pm 53 B.C.) all came from similar contexts.⁸⁵ Of the four dates, P-1472 is the only anomalous one and, for that reason, is best rejected. Averaging the remaining three, one gets a date of c. 834 B.C. If the MASCA correction factor is taken into consideration, the average date rises to c. 917 B.C. This provides us only with an approximate terminus post quem for the beginning of period II. For the time being, therefore, the available radiocarbon dates do not assist us in fixing the upper chronological limits of Godin II, Nush-i Jan I or Babā Jan III.

All three sites yielded a number of small finds which have chronological significance and therefore require brief consideration. From Op. A2, stratum 4 at Godin, a level immediately underlying the main period II structure, comes a bronze elbow fibula with moulding on both arms and a hand-clasp, a fairly common Neo-Assyrian type of the late eighth to seventh centuries B.C. As evidence for a terminus post quem for the main period II occupation, the fibula is not very reliable; its appearance is dated only in general terms, the artifact is so small that mis-stratification is always a possibility, and to echo Young, "one would rather date a fibula on its archaeological context than the reverse."⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the occurrence of the fibula and the low radiocarbon date, P-1472, might be taken together as evidence for a late eighth century B.C. date at the earliest for the foundation of period II.

A similar fibula, a pendant Pazuzu head, and a short pin with a roll-headed top, all of bronze, were recovered from the high level rooms of the squatter's occupation south of the Central Temple at

Nush-i Jan. All have seventh century B.C. parallels at Nimrud and therefore provide a rough terminus post quem for the squatting occupation.⁸⁷

Finally, from Baba Jan IIB come a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal of ninth to eighth century B.C. date and two bronze elbow fibula similar to the Godin example.⁸⁸ Once again, these give no more than an approximate terminus post quem for period II, phase B.

Evidence for the absolute chronology of the central-west Iranian sequence is therefore inconclusive. No data either rule out or confirm a ninth century B.C. date for the appearance of Baba Jan III painted ware and the micaceous buff ware. One other source of data, the results of a number of archaeological surveys in central-west Iran, can however be used to further test the hypothesis that these wares appear in the area towards the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

Archaeological Surveys in Central-West Iran

The last two decades have seen a number of archaeological surveys of varying degrees of intensity carried out in central-west Iran. These have included the 1961 survey of the Assadabad, Kangavar, Sahneh, Nehavand and Borujerd valleys and a follow-up survey of the Kangavar valley in 1974, both by Young.⁸⁹ In 1963 and 1964, Goff conducted two one-month surveys in the eastern Pish-i Kuh to the west of the Nehavand and Borujerd valleys.⁹⁰ The area enclosed by Hamadan, Zanjan, Mianduab and Bijar in eastern Kurdistan and south-eastern Azerbaijan was surveyed in 1971 by Swiny.⁹¹ The Mahidasht and Kermanshah valleys were the focus of a survey by Levine in 1975 and

work continued during 1978.⁹² The most recent survey was in 1978 in the Malayer plain around Nush-i Jan by Howell.⁹³ The most intensively surveyed area in central-west Iran is the Kangavar valley; therefore it is appropriate to begin this investigation there, turning later to the less intensively covered areas for comparison.

Survey data for the Bronze Age (Godin III), the Iron I/II period and the Iron III period in the Kangavar valley are presented in table 6.⁹⁴ From these figures certain patterns emerge. First, there is some evidence to indicate a shift at the upper end of the settlement size range. The majority of settlements in both the Bronze Age and Iron Age are less than two hectares in area. Two Bronze Age sites (5% of the total) are over fifteen hectares in area which contrasts to the Iron Age where no site exceeds five hectares.⁹⁵ Considering the small number of sites and the vagaries of estimating settlement size from surface sherds, this apparent shift should be viewed with caution.

Second, the major cultural disruption at the end of the Bronze Age is manifested not only in the disappearance of the Godin III painted wares, but also in a major change in settlement patterns. Most Bronze Age sites are either single period occupations (55%) or terminal occupations (17%).

It would be misleading to attempt to establish from these data trends of settlement in the Kangavar Valley through time.

In the following table the survey data have been manipulated in relation to the chronological ranges normally assigned to the Godin III, Iron I/II and Iron III periods to calculate ratios of sites and occupied area per century and percentage differences of

these ratios over those of the previous periods.⁹⁶

	Survey data	ratio per century	% diff. over previous pd.
Godin III 2000-1350 B.C. (650 yrs)	60 sites 70 ha.	0.92 sites 1.08 ha.	-
Iron I/II 1350-800 B.C. (550 yrs)	23 sites 30 ha.	0.42 sites 0.55	54% drop 49% drop
Iron III 800-500 B.C. (250 yrs)	33 sites 39 ha.	1.32 sites 1.56 ha.	314% rise 284% rise

Taken at face value, it would appear from the computed ratios that the Iron I/II period was a time of massive retrenchment in both numbers of sites and the extent of the area occupied. By way of contrast, the Iron III period shows a three hundred per cent increase in both categories of phenomena.

However, a number of considerations render this exercise futile. Young notes that, as with the earlier 1961 survey in the same area, Iron I/II sites in the Kangavar Valley were difficult to identify.⁹⁷ The criteria used for classifying an Iron I/II site were the presence of grey ware and the occurrence of Giyan I type

forms. It is important to note that no Iron I/II sites identified on these grounds showed more than a few grey ware sherds and that we are not dealing with a well-defined ceramic horizon as is the case with the Iron I/II occupation in northwest Iran. Since grey ware can occur in a buff ware horizon, albeit rarely, at both Godin II and Baba Jan III and II, this criterion is obviously suspect. Moreover, as will be argued below, grey ware and Giyan I type forms can be recognized in the upper period III:1 stratum at Godin Tepe so that other "Iron I/II" sites may prove to be, on closer analysis, more properly associated with the Godin III period.⁹⁸ In short, it is reasonable to suppose that a number of "Iron I/II" sites have acquired this designation spuriously. I do not wish to suggest that all of the Iron I/II sites can be explained away in this manner; Young, in a private communication, has asserted that Godin III grey wares can be recognized as such and eliminated from consideration.

In addition to these factors, there is the problem of assigning meaningful and accurate dates for the period interfaces; 2000 B.C. for the beginning of Godin III is a conservative estimate and the Godin III phenomenon may well have begun considerably earlier. Such chronological revisions would alter the ratios of the previous table significantly. Finally, the survey data may be skewed by problems of detecting sites, problems not necessarily consistent with each period, and by the difficulty of estimating the area occupied on any particular site during a specific period.⁹⁹ I would simply emphasize at this point the difficulty of maintaining the

hypothesis that there is in the Kangavar valley sequence an Early and Late Western Grey ware horizon comparable to that in western Azerbaijan. It is unlikely that the absence of grey ware or ceramic forms characteristic of Hasanlu V and IV can be explained as a result of massive overburdening of sites by subsequent "Iron III" occupation when most Iron Age sites in the valley are small. If we look at the survey data without prior assumptions, the conclusion that the major ceramic horizon following the Bronze Age/Godin III wares is micaceous buff ware seems inescapable.

Goff's surveys in the eastern Pish-i Kuh confirms the absence of a grey ware horizon in that area also.¹⁰⁰ The Bronze Age "kite wares" related to the Giyan III/II period are succeeded there by pottery of Baba Jan III type, a phenomenon attended by an increase in the number of sites, although most are extremely small. In the Baba Jan II period, micaceous buff ware pottery, accompanied by a large painted element, appears widespread throughout the eastern Pish-i Kuh but the total number of sites in this range evidently drops slightly and they are poorly represented in such isolated areas as the Kakawand plateau. In short, these data would seem to confirm the trends noted in the Kangavar valley.

The area immediately to the north of the eastern Pish-i Kuh, the Mahidasht and Kermanshah valleys, formed the focus of an archaeological survey by Levine in 1975.¹⁰¹ No detailed breakdown of the survey results has yet been published but preliminary figures indicate that, as with the Kangavar survey, the Iron I/II period is elusive and Baba Jan III/II painted ware also does not occur. The

Godin III period is represented by 73 sites, Iron I/II by only 23 sites, most of them identified on the basis of a single grey ware sherd or Giyan I form, and the Iron III period occurs at no less than 73 sites on the basis of Godin II fine ware types alone.¹⁰² Of considerable interest is the presence at a number of sites with Godin II type pottery of a number of ceramic forms which either emulate Late Assyrian forms or are imports.

A survey of the Malayer plain around Nush-i Jan conducted by Howell in 1978 identified 42 sites in the Godin III range and 84 sites with pottery related to Godin II and Nush-i Jan I.¹⁰³ These sites ranged from small tepes or clusters of small to medium mounds to ephemeral occupations on hilltops and, at the upper end of the range, large tepes with monumental architecture.

Four major areas of central-west Iran, therefore, have all yielded similar survey results pointing to the absence of an Early and Late Western Grey Ware horizon following the Bronze Age. Central-west Iran was not totally quarantined from the culture area of Hasanlu V/IV as the presence of pedestal-based goblets and other grey ware forms in graves at Godin and Giyan attests. However, there is no corresponding occupation at these sites, or any other for that matter, and the occurrence of these vessels is perhaps best explained as the result of nomads passing up and down the Zagros chain from Luristan to Azerbaijan.

Where a universe has been reasonably sampled, and I would contend that such can be said of central-west Iran, the dictum "absence of evidence does not necessarily mean evidence of absence" begins to wear thin. If, however, we do not have in central-west

Iran a cultural phenomenon like the Early and Late Grey Ware horizon, we are left with a large chronological gap to fill, according to conventional periodization, between the end of Godin III (c. 1350 B.C.) and Godin II (late seventh/early sixth century B.C.). In dealing with the archaeological sequence as known from excavation, I have already argued that Baba Jan III and the contemporary micaceous buff ware horizon must go back in time to the ninth century B.C. Even so, the gap is narrowed but not bridged, and the proposition that there was a major hiatus in the occupation of central-west Iran is, of course, entirely unacceptable.

Young has already suggested on other grounds that period III at Godin may have lasted longer than conventional dating would allow, approaching the end of the second millennium B.C.¹⁰⁴ This is not the time to examine this proposition in any detail and I will simply note in passing that it is possible to recognize in the upper period III:1 strata at Godin certain forms, some of them in grey ware, that suggest a possible overlap between these contexts and Iron I (Hasanlu V/Dinkha III).¹⁰⁵ In addition, the co-occurrence in some of the Godin burials in the "Outer Town" of Godin III painted ware and forms paralleled at Giyan I⁴ and Hasanlu V should be noted.¹⁰⁶ The evidence is little more than suggestive but future archaeological research in central-west Iran must tackle the problem of elucidating the interface between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age.¹⁰⁷

Before bringing this discussion of the survey evidence to a close, one other source of data should be examined. Reference has already been made to an archaeological survey carried out by Swiny in 1971 in eastern Kurdistan and south-eastern Azerbaijan.¹⁰⁸ The area

covered by Swiny and his one assistant was so vast and the season so brief that the number of sites associated with any specific ceramic horizon is probably meaningless. However, it is of interest to note the presence and absence of certain wares.

Diagnostic Iron I/II grey burnished ware was recovered from 18 sites distributed sparsely throughout the survey area, with a concentration to the south-east of Mianduab, but a cautious attitude to these results is suggested by Swiny's list of forms which comprise simple everted rim sherds, vertical handles, and pedestal and flat bases.¹⁰⁹ Godin II type buff ware was poorly represented and found only at three sites, all slightly north of the Hamadan-Takestan road. Pottery related to the distinctive common and fine wares known from Ziwiye was recorded at 11 sites with another 10 possible occurrences and would seem to represent the major post-Iron I/II occupation in the survey area.¹¹⁰ No Urartian pottery was found.

Given the very low intensity of this survey, any conclusions drawn must be of the most tentative kind. There is no obvious reason for doubting the existence of an Early and Late Western Grey Ware horizon in the area. The subsequent ceramic horizon represented by Ziwiye-type pottery has a distribution, as Swiny points out, that roughly corresponds to the extent of Mannea as defined in Levine's study of the historical geography of the Zagros. That it did not occur in the Zeribor region where Levine located Missi, a Mannean province, puzzled Swiny but, as I have argued at the beginning of this study, Missi must be located further to the east. Thus the distribution of Ziwiye ware correlates quite well with the approximate extent of Mannea.

This analysis of the survey data brings us to the end of the review of the central-west Iranian archaeological evidence relating to the Iron Age. In the following chapter, the implications of this review are drawn out and the congruence of Young's general Iron Age sequence with the central-west Iranian sequence is tested.

Endnotes to Chapter 8

1. C. Goff (Meade), "Luristan in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C.," Iran, 6 (1968), pp. 108f.
2. The central mound measures ca. 120 m. across the base with a flat top of ca. 60 by 30 m. The east mound is more conical in section and measures ca. 85 m. across the base, rising only 4.5 m. above the western saddle connecting it to the central mound; Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), p. 109.
3. C. Goff, "Luristan in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C.," Iran, 6 (1968), pp. 105-134; idem, "Excavations at Baba Jan, 1967: Second Preliminary Report," Iran, 7 (1969), pp. 115-130; idem, "Excavations at Baba Jan, 1968: Third Preliminary Report," Iran, 8 (1970), pp. 141-156; idem, "Excavations at Baba Jan: The Architecture of the East Mound, Levels II and III," Iran, 15 (1977), pp. 103-140; and idem, "Excavations at Baba Jan: The Pottery and Metals from Levels III and II," Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 29-65.
4. Initially the number of major periods identified was five but, by the close of the third season, a clearer understanding of the stratigraphy of the East Mound reduced this to three. No stratigraphic connection was ever established between the period III occupations of the two mounds and their evident contemporaneity is based solely on ceramic and architectural parallels. A brief note on nomenclature is necessary. Goff uses "phase" and "level" interchangeably to denote major subdivisions within the sequence. To avoid confusion, I have substituted "period" as denoting a major division. "Phase" is used here to denote a subdivision within a period and "level" is employed only in the colloquial sense.
5. Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), p. 105.
6. Room 4 evidently had a flat roof and enormous roof beams were found carbonized on the floor. Traces of three columns were also located and Goff has suggested that a fourth may be located under the unexcavated central baulk, making an irregular square. Measurement of collapsed debris in the hall gave an estimated minimum height for the walls of ca. 10 m. but it is not known whether the columns went this high or whether there was a second storey; for a detailed discussion of the various possible solutions to roofing the hall, see Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), pp. 112ff. The hall measures approximately 11.5 by 12.0 m.

The best evidence for a second storey in the Fort comes from room 3 which was filled with a layer of debris ca. 2 m. thick,

composed of rubble, ash and fallen beams and with a 14 cm. thick grey green floor on top which was, in turn, covered by ceiling debris. Ledges for second storey beams were observed at a height of 3 m. on the walls of the room. The evidence for a second room over room 5 is more ambiguous. Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), pp. 105ff.

7. An exhaustive discussion of the problem of reconstructing the original position and arrangement of these tiles may be found in Iran, 8 (1970), pp. 146ff and further in Iran, 15 (1977), pp. 123ff.
8. Rooms 3, 5, 9, 20, the Painted Chamber and its northern annex.
9. Period III pottery is described in detail below. This brief description of pottery and other finds is simply to help establish function.
10. For a definition of "genre Luristan" wares, see below, no. 24.
11. Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), p. 119.
12. Goff refers to the north, south, east and west rooms as "towers." While this possibility cannot be ruled out, there is no clear evidence for reconstructing the elevation in this way. For the most part, phase 2 remains consisted only of the stone foundations of walls and rarely of the mudbrick superstructure. The height of the walls therefore remains a matter of speculation but it should be noted that the foundations of these rooms are no wider than those of any other walls in the complex; see Goff, Iran, 7 (1969):117.
13. The benches are reconstructed on the basis of observed gaps between the stone paving and the wall in these two areas. In both cases the gaps were filled with a slight bricky fill suggesting a bench superstructure. Given the general similarity between the Central Mound building in phases 2 and 1--the Fort of the East Mound--it can be suggested that the northern end of the East Long Room may have housed a stair to the roof level in a position analogous to room 1 of the Fort. If such was the case, the "bench" may in fact have been the remains of a ramp and the stone paving a footing for a central mudbrick pillar.
14. These include a rebuild in the north-east corner with the establishment of a new wall line at the north end of the East Long Room. In addition, note the wall line immediately east of the East Portico which cuts phase 2 foundations in this area and underlies phase 1 walls. It is possible that this was only a retaining wall and that the portico entrance was not in fact blocked by it.
15. Grave goods found in conjunction with the horse burial included a bronze nose plate, an iron bit, a bronze lamp, a large bronze

bowl, and five looped bronze harness studs. Typological parallels to these items do not provide anything more than a general eighth-seventh century B.C. range, a very approximate terminus a quo for the phase 1 structure; see Goff, Iran, 7 (1969), pp. 123ff., figs. 6-7.

16. This is rather like the construction technique for phase 2 foundations but the phase 1 walls in this area are in most cases laid out along slightly different lines and there is no possibility of confusion. In addition, note that the east and north walls of the courtyard are not bonded into the south and west walls, see fig. 5.
17. Originally only three squatting phases, C-A, were defined. Phase D was previously described as a lower level C floor. Phases D-B merge into one another and are difficult to separate. After B was burned, phase A was rebuilt along quite different lines. See Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), pp. 131ff. for the most recent discussion.
18. Room 1 contained several reconstructable pots. In addition, the excavators found an iron dagger, a set of carpenter's iron tools, some stone and glass beads, and an Assyrian cylinder seal apparently to be dated to the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. Rooms 3 and 5 yielded little material while the IIB floors in rooms 2, 4 and 6 were destroyed by period I terracing and pitting. See Goff, Iran, 6 (1968):119 and Iran, 15 (1977):131.
19. See Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), p. 114, fig. 7a.
20. Room 1, the stairwell, was choked with period III debris. Room 2 apparently had no later occupation although the subsidiary stone walling outside room 2 and built up against room 7 may be period II. Room 3 was thought at first to have a period II reoccupation as there seemed to be evidence of replastering on the upper III walls. Apparently, the "replastering" is best explained as a "concertina" effect due to the period III wall collapse. Rooms 6 and 7 are unexcavated.
21. See Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), pp. 103ff.
22. See Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), p. 119 and pl. IIIa.
23. Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), p. 119; for the most recent treatment of the pottery from periods III-II, see Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 29 ff. For all practical purposes, the Central Mound and East Mound period III occupations must be considered as contemporary.
24. The term "genre Luristan" was coined by R. Ghirshman to describe those Giyan I tombs containing bronze and horse trappings in conjunction with a burnished buff ware often with painted decoration; see G. Conteneau and R. Ghirshman, Fouilles du Tepe-Giyan (Paris: Geuthner, 1935):75 and pls. XVI-XVIII, and Goff, Iran, 6 (1968):115, n. 17.

No reason is given by Goff for eschewing the term, although the new terminology presumes less than the vaguely defined "genre Luristan." However, it is confusing to talk about Baba Jan Period III wares in period II contexts. The designation "Nush-i Jan" ware was dropped because Goff felt it might imply "too close a relationship" with that site; Iran, 16 (1978), p. 29. However, the substitute term, "Imported" ware, assumes an outside origin that has yet to be demonstrated.

25. A detailed discussion of variation in decoration can be found in Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 32.
26. Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 30; a beak-spouted jar was found in a grave (fig. 20:22) and a "teapot" with tubular spout was found forced into one of the wall slots in room 3 of the Fort (fig. 16:2).
27. The use of mica temper is quite unknown in period III pottery. This "Imported" ware evidently does not dominate the pottery assemblages of period II: although no quantified data are available, Goff notes that in the two sealed period II deposits, the "Groom's Kitchen" and the "Carpenter's Shop," the "Imported" ware was in a minority compared to Baba Jan III wares; Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 37.
28. Three preliminary reports and a number of briefer notices have appeared to date: D. Stronach, "Tepe Nush-i Jan: A Mound in Media," BMA, 27 (1968), pp. 177-186; idem, "Excavations at Tepe Nush-i Jan, 1967," Iran, 7 (1969), pp. 1-20; A.D.H. Bivar, "A Hoard of Ingot-currency of the Median period from Nush-i Jan, near Malayir," Iran 9 (1971), pp. 97-111; M. Roaf and D. Stronach, "Tepe Nush-i Jan, 1970: Second Interim Report," Iran, 11 (1971), pp. 129-138; D. Stronach and M. Roaf, "Excavations at Tepe Nush-i Jan: A Third Interim Report," Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 1-28. Short summaries have appeared in Iran, 9 (1971), p. 175; Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 214-215; Iran, 13 (1975), pp. 187-188; Iran, 16 (1978), p. 195; see also D. Stronach, "A Fourth Season of Excavations at Tappeh Nūšī Jān," Proc. Third Ann. Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran (Tehran, 1975), pp. 203-212.
29. Initially it was thought that there was evidence of three occupational periods. Period I, the major occupation, was believed to have been followed by a brief Achaemenid occupation and a small Parthian resettlement of the first century B.C. (periods II-III). More recent investigation has shown that the high level floors in squares S9 and T9, which were taken as representative of the Achaemenid occupation, are late Median in date. Thus the only post-Median occupation is the Parthian one, involving no substantial building activity and of very limited duration. See Iran, 16 (1978), p. 10, n. 29.

30. In section, the slots are narrow rectangular apertures topped with two angled bricks to form an arrow-shape. With the exception of the northern half of the west wall all buttresses were pierced with one "arrowslot" and all recesses with two. One example preserved to its full elevation of 2.11 m. showed that these slots connected through to the upper storey of the Fort; see Iran, 7 (1969), p. 14, fig. 5. Similar slots occur at both Baba Jan III and Godin II q.v. They are known to occur elsewhere, e.g., the Neo-Assyrian levels at Ashur; see E. Porada, "Battlements in the Military Architecture and in the Symbolism of the Ancient Near East," Essays . . . Presented to Rudolf Wittkower (1967), fig. 11.
31. In the south-east corner of room 24 a hoard of over 200 small silver objects placed in a hemispherical bronze bowl sunk flush with the level of the floor and covered with a brick was found. The hoard has been described by both Stronach and Bivar; see Iran, 7 (1969), pp. 15-16 and Bivar, Iran, 9 (1971), pp. 97-111. Although Stronach has pointed out that the bowl and its contents must have been deposited after the abandonment of the Fort, Bivar assumes that it is of the same approximate date as the period, I occupation and accordingly describes it as Median and belonging to the seventh century B.C. It would be curious to hide such a hoard flush with the floor and covered with a brick; it seems much more reasonable to assume that the hoard was deposited in a small pit from a higher level which could easily have been missed in the excavation of room 24. Essentially, therefore, the find is not well stratified and on analogy with similar finds elsewhere, should probably be dated to the Achaemenid period.
32. The pottery from room 18 is described below. Small finds included a stone mortar, an iron sickle blade, a blue-glazed spindle whorl, a bone handle with an incised spiral design, and a perforated black stone stamp seal. The seal is Neo-Assyrian, in type with a wheel-shaped pattern on one side and a cow suckling a calf on the other, a design well known on Assyrian seals of the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.; see M.E.L. Mallowan, Nimrud and Its Remains (London: Collins, 1966), Vol. I, p. 259, fig. 241 and Vol. II, pl. VI facing p. 520, and p. 527, and compare Iran, 16 (1978), pl. IVE.
- The theme also occurs frequently on Syro-Phoenician ivories from Arslan Tash and Nimrud as well as on earlier Babylonian cylinder seals of the early second millennium B.C.; see A. Parrot, Nineveh and Babylon (1961), pp. 148, 154, and fig. 181.¹ The seal therefore provides only a very general terminus post quem for the squatter's occupation.
33. Previously called both the "Central Building" and the "Fire Temple."

34. This method of vaulting, two opposed rows of mudbrick struts springing from narrow ledges, is well documented in the later architectural history of Iran at Achaemenid Persepolis, Parthian Shahr-i Qumis and Partho-Sasanian Kuf-i Khwaja; see Roaf and Storonach, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 138, nn. 20-22.
35. The "altar" is ca. 85 cm. high with four projecting steps at the top and a small hemispherical depression in the centre. It is built entirely of mudbrick with several layers of fine white plaster. The altar area was enclosed by a low plastered mudbrick wall which appears to have been a secondary feature.
36. The tunnel was possibly intended to supplement the water supply on the site; a large well or cistern stood in the South Court, to the south-west of the Central Temple.
37. At first called the Old Western Building, the structure was subsequently referred to as the "Western Temple." In his most recent article Storonach has returned to the earlier term. The similarity between the Old Western Building and the Central Temple in their internal arrangement of rooms can be seen most clearly when the positions of the ramp and the antechamber of the former are interchanged; see Iran, 16 (1978), p. 3, fig. 2.
38. Initial excavations in the area immediately west of the Columned Hall uncovered a small room (room 40) which contained a good corpus of pottery. Room 40 does not appear on the latest plans of this area and its location as shown in early plans (see Iran, 11 (1973), p. 130, fig. 1) is difficult to reconcile with the plan published most recently (fig. 7). Presumably, room 40 was part of the original entrance to the Old Western Building. A narrow recess in the side wall of the third flight of the ramp staircase gave access by a vertical shaft to a small chamber immediately below which contained a variety of objects including a common ware bowl with a horizontal handle, a miniature grey ware jar and an unbaked animal figurine; Iran, 16 (1978), p. 4.
39. Iran, 16 (1978), p. 195.
40. Amongst other things, the Central Temple was filled with shale, and areas of mudbrick blocking were found in the East Court and South Street. In the Old Western Building the mudbrick altar was largely dismantled and the door to the cella was sealed off. Insofar as any pattern can be discerned in this curious phenomenon, careful preservation of both the Central Temple and the Old Western Building seems to have been of major importance. For details, see Iran, 7 (1969), pp. 1ff and Iran, 11 (1973), pp. 129ff.
41. See Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 7-9 and fig. 4 for details and a plan of the squatter's occupation in the Columned Hall.

42. A brief description of these objects is given in Iran, 16 (1978), p. 9.
43. So Stronach, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 9.
44. So Stronach, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 10.
45. See Iran, 16 (1978), p. 9 where Stronach suggests that the two temples are the earliest buildings on the site with the Fort added later and the Columned Hall later still.
46. Iran, 9 (1971), p. 175.
47. R. Stronach, "Median Pottery from the Fallen Floor in the Fort," Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 11-24.
48. Iran, 16 (1978), p. 10.
49. Iran, 7 (1969), p. 19.
50. The ancient High Road or Great Khorasan Road, the major caravan route between the Near East and the Orient, passed by the site on the Kermanshah-Hamadan leg before penetrating the Alvand alignment by the Ganj Nameh pass; see W.H. Schoff, Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax (Philadelphia, 1914) and G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (London, 1905), pp. 9f, 227f. For the original survey in the Kangavar Valley and follow-up work in 1974, see T.C. Young, Jr., "Survey in Western Iran, 1961," JNES, 25 (4), 1966, pp. 228-239 where Godin is site no. 22 in fig. 1 and idem, "Kangavar Valley Survey," Iran, 13 (1975), pp. 191-193.
51. T.C. Young, Jr., Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969), hereafter Godin I; L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr., Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress Report (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1974), hereafter Godin II; T.C. Young, Jr. and H. Weiss, "The Godin Project: Godin Tepe," Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 207-211. Period I is represented only by a modern Islamic graveyard which does not overlie the excavated Iron Age levels and therefore has no stratigraphical significance here.
52. Godin II, p. 81; fig. 18.
53. Godin I, p. 12. A radiocarbon date (GaK-1069) from a hearth in this level of 824 ± 103 B.C. supports this contention, but the excavator has privately expressed the opinion that the floor so dated could possibly belong to the first phase of the main period II occupation; Young, personal communication, August, 1978. The radiocarbon date and its implications are further discussed below.

54. The following description of the period II occupation is derived from Godin I, pp. 23ff. Godin II, pp. 29ff., and Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 210-211.
55. Curiously, the magazines are formed by a series of parallel unbonded cross walls which often block the arrowslots of the defensive wall to the north. The function of these structures as magazines can scarcely be doubted; presumably whatever was stored in them would have been cleaned out during the orderly abandonment of the site or thereafter by the local population. If they were used for the storage of organic material such as grain, there would be little chance of finding this evidence unless the grain had been carbonized. In the 1973 season, room 24 yielded a small cache of pottery to which we shall return below.
56. While room 28 has a small screening wall at its entrance, it is likely that this must be associated with the squatter's occupation.
57. Extensive repairs and reconstruction were carried out at a number of points in the building but especially around towers 4 and 5. In addition, trash and debris built up at the base of the north fortification wall eventually covering the socle and reaching partway up the external face, blocking the lower portions of some of the arrowslots. At this stage the facade was replastered but only down to the trash line. Further accumulation of trash as high as halfway up some arrowslots was marked by a later replastering down to this new level; Godin I, pp. 24ff.
58. Any conflagration in a building with so many wooden columns would have left unmistakable traces. Nor is there any evidence of massive primary collapse after the phase 4 occupation which systematic demolition would have caused. By the time of the squatter's occupation in hall 6, the wooden columns had been removed as the squatters' walls overrun column bases in several instances.
59. Godin I, pp. 30-31; Godin II, pp. 35-36.
60. As will be evident from the pottery figures, figures 12-41, a wide range of ceramic forms has been published for both Godin II and Baba Jan III-II while Baba Jan I and Nush-i Jan I in comparison are poorly represented.
61. See Stronach, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 10 where he rules out an earlier suggestion that the squatters may have filled the Central Temple.
62. Stronach, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 9.
63. See Goff, Iran, 15 (1977), p. 108, fig. 4, "B-R" West Section and "R" room 4, North Section.

64. Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 30ff.
65. Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 37.
66. R.H. Dyson, Jr. and V.C. Pigott, "Hasanlu," Iran, 13 (1975), p. 185.
67. Young, Iran, 3 (1965), pp. 59-61; Dyson, JNES, 24 (1965), pp. 205ff. Plans and sections from the 1964 season were shown to the writer during a visit to the University Museum Philadelphia in 1976 and confirm this interpretation. I am grateful to Robert H. Dyson, Jr. for allowing me to view this material.
68. O.W. Muscarella, "Excavations at Agrab Tepe, Iran," MMJ, 8 (1973), p. 54.
69. O.W. Muscarella, "The Iron Age at Dinkha Tepe, Iran," MMJ, 9 (1974), pp. 35-90.
70. Young, Iran, 3 (1965), p. 79 and fig. 14. The information on the Susa excavations comes from an unpublished paper kindly provided to the writer by Young; T.C. Young, Jr., "The Comparative Stratigraphy of Second and First Millenium Khuzistan in Relation to Neighbouring Areas" (unpublished MS, West Asian Dept., Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1978).
71. While on a visit to Toronto in 1976, Stephan Kroll of the German Archaeological Institute in Iran inspected the Godin II pottery stored in the Royal Ontario Museum and affirmed its strong similarity to the post-Urartian pottery from the Hallenbau in Bastam.
72. See the discussion by Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), pp. 124ff. and Iran, 16 (1978), p. 34f.
73. Here I am referring only to those fourteen graves excavated at Khurvin by Vanden Berghe; L. Vanden Berghe, La nécropole de Khurvin (Istanbul, 1964). Young placed Khurvin-Chandar pottery in the Iron I period with a possible overlap into early Iron II but was working with surface sherds which he had collected personally. There seems little doubt that there is material at Khurvin spanning the entire Iron Age and great caution should be exercised in dealing with unstratified material; see Dyson, JNES, 24 (1965), pp. 195-6. However, a strong argument is presented by Goff for considering the excavated graves to be early Iron II in date and I am in essential agreement with her conclusions; Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), p. 125 and n. 50. Dyson was persuaded by the presence of bowls with horizontal handles at the rim in these graves to attribute them to Iron III but it is now apparent from the Baba Jan III pottery that this ceramic type had much earlier antecedents than he could have suspected at the time. The parallels to the Khurvin pottery are in form only; the red and grey wares of the latter site are quite different from the polished buff ware of Baba Jan III.

74. At the risk of duplication but for the sake of clarity, these tables of ceramic parallels for the upper end of the central-west Iranian sequence were kept separate from those for the lower end. Parallels to pottery from Godin and Nush-i Jan have not been included as this would merely serve to obscure the issue.

75. In connection with this suggested dating, it is of interest to note that pottery evidently similar to Baba Jan III painted ware has been reported from the site of Surkh Dum where it is said to underlie the floors of a temple excavated by Schmidt. The structure is dated on the evidence of cylinder seals from 900/850-600 B.C. but judgement must, of course, be reserved until the pottery is published; see M. Van Loon, Review of Dark Ages and Nomads, ed. M.J. Mellink, Bib. Or., 24 (1967), pp. 23 f. and Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 35.

76. Goff dates the period III/II division at Baba Jan around 700 B.C. because she believes that the Nush-i Jan pottery is to be dated to the seventh century B.C. The East Mound period III complex she attributes to the eighth century B.C. and the Central Mound manor sequence to the ninth century B.C.; Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 38. For several reasons I feel this position is untenable. An examination of the period III painted ware shows no discernible difference between the Central Mound manor and the East Mound Fort and Painted Chamber, apart from the occurrence in the latter of more elaborately decorated individual pieces. Since we are comparing an elite architectural complex to a more modest structure on the Central Mound, such a difference might have been expected. I cannot see the rationale in making the East Mound complex a century younger. If a ninth century B.C. date is accepted for Baba Jan III as a whole, it is difficult to place period II in the seventh century, considering the degree of ceramic continuity. Conversely, if period III is placed in the eighth century B.C. this removes it to an unacceptable chronological degree from its ceramic parallels in the Khurvin graves which Goff dates to the early Iron II period. The essential point is that we can pin down the beginning and the end of the central-west Iranian sequence better than the middle. The arguments underlying both Goff's position and mine are tenuous but it is felt that the view advocated here has greater "goodness of fit" with the ceramic sequence, the survey data, and the historical evidence.

77. R.H. Dyson, Jr., "Architecture of the Iron I period at Hasanlu in Western Iran and its implications for theories of migration on the Iranian plateau," in Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale . . . (Paris, 1977), pp. 155ff.

78. A section of a building exposed in Dinkha II bears some general resemblance to the plan of the Central Mound manor; see Muscarella, MMJ, 9 (1974), p. 54, fig. 24.

79. The problem of where the initial occupants of the Godin II complex actually lived is yet to be resolved. It is possible that the columned halls originally had a domestic function and only subsequently became reserved for a more ceremonial purpose but there is no evidence for this and it is difficult to imagine how they could have functioned in this manner without the flanking storage and work rooms one finds at Hasanlu IV.
80. We cannot say whether the columned hall concept is a departure from traditional practices on the Iranian plateau because, Khuzistan aside, there are no excavated monumental buildings in western Iran prior to the Iron Age. I might also add that the Hasanlu IVB Burned Buildings all have columns along the walls sometimes on a different alignment from the free-standing columns. This feature does not appear in the central-west Iranian sites, except perhaps in the Baba Jan III Central Mound manor, phase 1, and therefore different methods of trussing the roof may have been employed in the two areas.
81. For an opposing view, see Stronach, Iran, 11 (1973), p. 132 where he says "With reference to the origins of the hypostyle halls of the Achaemenians, the peoples of the Central Zagros region emerge as the vital intermediaries in time and space between the builders of Hasanlu . . . and the sophisticated architects of Pasargadae, Persepolis and Susa."
82. All dates quoted in the text are calculated on a half-life of 5730 years, unless stated otherwise. MASCA correction factors are taken from E.K. Ralph et al., "Radiocarbon dates and reality," MASCA Newsletter, 9, no. 1 (1973).
83. Goff, Iran, 14 (1976), p. 30, n. 34.
84. Stronach, Iran, 7 (1969), p. 16 and n. 81.
85. For GaK-1069, see Godin I, p. 31. Additional information on the contexts of these samples was kindly made available by T.C. Young, Jr.
86. Godin I, p. 31. The fibula is shown in fig. 40:20 of this work.
87. Stronach, Iran, 7 (1969), p. 16 and n. 79 for references to Nimrud parallels.
88. See Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), fig. 14:3-4 and pp. 38-40 for a discussion of these and other metal small finds from Baba Jan III and II. The cylinder seal is discussed in Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), p. 119 and n. 21.

89. T.C. Young, Jr., "Survey in Western Iran, 1961," JNES, 25 (1966), pp. 228-239; T.C. Young, Jr., "An Archaeological Survey of the Kangavar Valley," (unpub. MS., West Asian Dept., Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1978), T.C. Young, Jr., "Kangavar Valley Survey," Iran, 13 (1975), pp. 191-193.
90. C. Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), pp. 105-134.
91. S. Swiny, "Survey in North-West Iran, 1971," East and West, 25 (1975), pp. 77-96.
92. L.D. Levine, "Archaeological Investigations in the Mahidasht, Western Iran, 1975," Paléorient, 2 (1974), pp. 487-490; L.D. Levine, "The Mahidasht Project," Iran, 14 (1976), pp. 160-161.
93. R. Howell, "Survey of the Malayer Plain," Iran, 17 (1979), pp. 156-157.
94. For data, see T.C. Young, Jr., "Kangavar Valley Survey," Iran, 13 (1975), pp. 191-193. Additional data were generously provided from unpublished field notes by T.C. Young, Jr. Some of the site mortality figures were originally calculated by Ms. C. Gustavson, a graduate student in the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Toronto for presentation to an Iron Age Seminar in 1975-76. I have added data for the Bronze Age sites, recalculated all figures and rounded off the percentiles.
95. Robert Henrickson, a graduate student in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, the University of Toronto, in a paper presented to an Iron Age seminar in 1977, calculated that with two exceptions, no Iron Age site within a radius of 12 kms. of Godin was over one hectare in size. The two exceptions are both multiperiod sites with subsequent Parthian and Islamic occupation that may have expanded the settlement area considerably. Beyond the 12 km. perimeter, Henrickson notes the existence of three sites that are over 3 ha. in area, suggesting the existence of localized hierarchies; R. Henrickson, "Iron III and Central West Iran," unpublished MS, West Asian Dept., Royal Ontario Museum.
96. For the chronological parameters of the Godin III period, see Godin I, p. 10 and n. 25 and pp. 22-23; the 7m. deep deposit suggests a lengthy occupation. Recent excavations at Susa lead Elizabeth Carter to suggest that Godin III may begin as early as 2,600 B.C.; pers. comm., Irene Winter, December, 1979. On the statistical method employed, see H. Weiss, "Periodization, Population and Early State Formation in Khuzistan," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (Malibu, 1977), pp. 347ff.
97. T.C. Young, Jr., "An Archaeological Survey of the Kangavar Valley," p. 9. See also his remarks on the 1961 survey; T.C. Young, Jr., JNES, 25 (1966), p. 236. An Iron I/II period was also difficult to define in the Sahneh, Assadabad, Nehavand and Borujerd valleys.

98. On this point, see below n. 105.
99. The actual area of occupation of the Godin II complex is just under 1 hectare, although prior to excavation the sherd scatter suggested that the entire citadel mount was occupied.
100. See Goff, Iran, 6 (1968), pp. 126ff., and p. 107, fig. 2 for site distribution.
101. Levine, Paleorient, 2 (1974); pp. 487-490. Additional data were kindly supplied by Levine in a personal communication, January, 1976.
102. Of the c. 40,000 sherds processed during the season, less than 250 were grey ware; Levine, Paleorient, 2 (1974), p. 489. A further season was carried out in 1978 but no information on the results of this extension of the survey has been made available.
103. Howell, Iran, 17 (1979), pp. 156-157.
104. Godin I, p. 23.
105. For example, cups with vertical loop handles, Godin I, figs. 20:10, 12; 23:6 and Godin II, figs. 25:12-13 and 26:2 and cf. Giyan 14, tombs 32, 33, 37, and 39 and Giyan 13, tombs 24 and 28. Four of the six Godin cups are grey ware and all are derived from the uppermost strata of period III:1. Parallels to the north-western material are not strong but see the carinated bowls with flared rims, Godin I, fig. 20:13-14 and cf. Hasanlu V, fig. 8:6; bowls with incurved beaded rims, Godin II, fig. 25:2 and cf. Hasanlu V, fig. 8:8 and Dinkha III, fig. 13:85; carinated bowls with an everted pinched rim and a vertical loop handle at the rim, Godin II, fig. 25:1 and cf. Hasanlu IV, fig. 7:9 and Dinkha II, fig. 37:910, 35. Full citations for the Hasanlu, Dinkha and Giyan references can be found in the key to the ceramic parallels tables.
106. See the small bronze istikhan from Area O, Tomb, burial B, Godin I, fig. 30:4 in conjunction with period III painted pottery; the shape is duplicated in pottery in Hasanlu V, fig. 8:13-14. However, it also occurs in Dinkha IV, see C. Hamlin, "The Early Second Millennium Ceramic Assemblage of Dinkha Tepe," Iran, 12 (1974), p. 133, fig. 1:13. The small loop-handled cup with an opposed tab on the body in Area O, Tomb, burial A, Godin I, fig. 31:12 has an exact duplicate in Giyan 14, tomb 43 and again occurs with Bronze Age painted ware. It is not a good practice to use the Giyan graves to date anything and it should also be noted that the Area O tomb was used at least twice. In short, the evidence is very shaky but the hypothesis does bear further investigation in the future.

107. In this regard, the occurrence of a late stage of Giyan III/II pottery in tomb 11 at Tepe Guran, a burial dated by radiocarbon to 1315±124 BC should be noted; see J. Meldgaard et al., "Excavations at Tepe Guran, Luristan," Acta Archaeologica, 34 (1963), p. 133 and R.H. Dyson, Jr., "The Archaeological Evidence of the Second Millennium B.C. on the Persian Plateau," CAH, Vol. II, Part 1 (Cambridge, 1973, 3rd edition), pp. 712ff.
108. Swiny, East and West, 25 (1975), pp. 77-96.
109. Swiny, East and West, 25 (1975), p. 88.
110. See Swiny, East and West, 25 (1975), p. 94, fig. 6 for site distribution.

CHAPTER 9

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

The pre-eminent problem of proto-historic western Iran is the identification of the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic groups. By the time of their first known historical contact with the Neo-Assyrians in the late ninth century B.C., the Medes are settled in the central Zagros mountain valleys in numerous small polities. The epigraphic sources therefore set a terminus ad quem for their penetration and, in the absence of any earlier documentary evidence, the problem is one that will admit only an archaeological solution.

When Young conducted his original investigation of the Iranian migration into the Zagros, Hasanlu provided the only archaeological sequence in western Iran of any relevance. The framework of historical geography within which Young operated led him to believe that an Iranian presence could be historically documented to the south-west of Lake Urmia where Hasanlu is located. Consequently, he focussed on the Hasanlu sequence for evidence of a major cultural disruption. The buff ware horizon of Hasanlu III was rejected from consideration because of its late appearance in the sequence, post-dating the historical contact with Iranians some two centuries earlier. To be sure, the pottery of Hasanlu III differed from that of the earlier part of the sequence but, at the time, it seemed reasonable to assume that the hiatus recognized between periods IV and III at the site accounted for the apparent lack of transition.

Hasanlu IV was also rejected as a likely candidate because of the high degree of ceramic and architectural continuity with the preceding period V. Only with the interface between the Late Bronze Age of period VI and the subsequent period V, characterized by the introduction of grey ware and columned hall architecture, was there evidence of a cultural disjunction major enough to be associated with the influx of a new people. The hypothesis was attractive and internally consistent; the "grey ware = Iranians" equation was born.

Additional support for the hypothesis came in the form of survey data. The widespread distribution and cultural uniformity of the Early Western Grey Ware horizon, typified by Hasanlu V, bespoke a fairly recent common cultural origin for Iron Age I and a rapid diffusion such as one would expect of an intruding ethnic group. Moreover, the grey wares of Iron I and II roughly corresponded in their distribution with areas where Iranians were thought to be present on historical grounds and did not occur in areas identified with such indigenous Zagros polities as Elam and Ellipi.

The revised historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros proposed by Levine seriously weakened the foundations of Young's hypothesis. The focus of Neo-Assyrian contact with the Medes and others bearing Iranian onomastica was removed from the north-west Zagros and switched to the mountain valleys of the central Zagros. This cast doubt on, but did not disprove the hypothesized association of grey ware pottery with Iranians. After all, there was still no cultural disjunction in the comparative ceramic sequence of the Zagros of sufficient magnitude and early enough in date to rival that

which demonstrably existed between Hasanlu VI and V.

It has been the purpose of this study to argue that we have long been misled by the current paradigm of the dynamics of the Iron Age in western Iran. Dazzled by the Hasanlu sequence, we have perceived its ambiguities only dimly. Yet over the last decade additional archaeological research has gradually forced a re-assessment. The excavations and extensive archaeological surveys conducted under the aegis of the German Archaeological Institute in Iran have documented an Urartian encroachment into Azerbaijan that was hitherto unsuspected. Hasanlu IIIB and Agrab Têpe (in part) were realized to be Urartian occupations. The widespread Urartian settlement in what was thought to be the core Iranian area of settlement conflicted with the historical data.

Excavation and survey in the central Zagros consistently failed to elucidate the transition between the Late Bronze Age and the buff ware horizon typified by Godin II and Mush-i Jan I and left a perplexing lacuna in the cultural sequence of the area which did not jibe with the historical geography and epigraphic sources. The tenacity of the old paradigm was a thing of wonder. Rather than question it, some have suggested that either there was a massive population retrenchment - and this in one of the richest areas of the Zagros precisely at the time when a major influx of Iranians was to be expected - or, more modestly, that the lacuna was simply a result of our collective ignorance of the archaeological characteristics of the early Iron Age in this area.¹ These observations are a testimony to the convincing presentation of Young's hypothesis and

to the ambiguous nature of the archaeological data at our disposal. They are not idle stone-throwing; I am about to enter my own glass house below.

I would propose that the old paradigm of the Iron Age based on the Hasanlu sequence must now be recognized as having only regional significance. To continue to apply it to the entire cultural history of the Zagros would only confound future research further. Within the central Zagros, I have argued for the late survival of the Godin III period down to the end of the second millennium B.C. for the following reasons. The micaceous buff ware horizon of which Godin II, Nush-i Jan I and Baba Jan II-I are late representatives can arguably be pushed back in time to the ninth century B.C. but not much earlier, if at all. Several archaeological surveys have consistently failed to yield evidence of a grey ware ceramic horizon in the region that would bridge the gap between the conventionally dated Late Bronze Age and the advent of the micaceous buff ware. In addition, there are a few, admittedly very few, indications that the latest period III:1 material at Godin may overlap chronologically with the grey ware horizon of Iron I to the north. A number of radiocarbon samples taken from good contexts in the upper Godin III strata and presently under examination by Dr. Robert Stuckenrath of the Smithsonian Institution Radiation Biology Laboratories may help to resolve the problem by providing absolute dates for the late stages of the Bronze Age occupation in the region.

But how are we to explain our inability to recognize the earliest stages of the micaceous buff ware horizon in the central

Zagros if it begins as early as the ninth century B.C.? Would there not be considerable ceramic drift in form and treatment of pottery between then and the late contexts of Godin II and Baba Jan I? The answer to the first question is, I think, because sites like Godin II and Nush-i Jan I, elite monumental structures which enjoyed a lengthy period of use and were kept free of ceramic waste, cannot provide us with early micaceous buff ware in discrete contexts except when their life-span is prematurely truncated as at Baba Jan III. On analogy with the mudbrick palaces of Assyria, a two hundred year duration for the Godin II complex is not at all improbable but the pottery contained in the structure will come only from the closing decades of that period. Future archaeological research should therefore concentrate on domestic occupations with long sequences of stratified materials and, for the time being, leave the elite structures of the period alone.

In answer to the second question, I would assert that functional and stylistic drift in a ceramic tradition can sometimes be so subtle, even over considerable lengths of time, that gross analysis of form, decoration, ware, and other traits will not detect it. Until recently, archaeologists have failed to discriminate such subtle ceramic change within the Middle Formative of the Valley of Oaxaca (Mexico), a period spanning some four centuries, despite careful observation of the changing frequencies of ceramic types.² The solution was found in the use of a refined method of chronological seriation, a combined taxonomic-analytic approach based on ware, details of vessel form and provenience with independent studies of

specific attributes within subsets of discrete sherd lots. The method, if carefully applied, could be invaluable in defining the ceramic chronology of the micaceous buff ware tradition in the central Zagros and in detecting change that is not readily apparent in the survey sherddage. First, however, we must excavate!

I can no longer evade the thorny issue of equating people with pots, ethnic groups with ceramic assemblages. The issues are admirably summarized elsewhere by Kramer and it will serve little purpose to exhaustively review them here.³ Instead, I will briefly examine the rationale for associating the micaceous buff wares of the central Zagros with the historic Medes, assuming for the sake of the argument, tacit agreement on the reader's part to a ninth century B.C. start for this ceramic tradition. The equation is supported by historical-geographical and archaeological evidence. The detailed historical narrative at the beginning of this study established a focus of Median settlement in the mountain valleys of the central Zagros along the Great Khorasan Road. To the north and south lay different ethno-linguistic units such as Mannea and Ellipi and if the association of Medes with the micaceous buff wares is correct, we would not expect to find the latter in Luristan or significantly penetrating Kurdistan north of the Mahidasht in the early first millennium B.C. The survey evidence adduced in the previous chapter confirms that those areas have differing ceramic horizons in the early first millennium B.C.

In the late sixth and early fifth century B.C., pottery related in form and ware to that of Godin II appears in archaeological contexts over a wide area of western Iran. Known contexts range from

the post-Urartian level in the Hallenbau at Bastam and Hasanlu IIIA both in the north to Chogha Mish in north-western Khuzistan and possibly even Tepe Yahya in Kerman.⁴ It is difficult to associate this wide dispersion of Godin II-type pottery with any historic ethno-linguistic group or event other than the Medes and their short-lived conquest of an empire embracing all of western Iran.⁵

Other ceramic traditions of Iron Age western Iran do not yield so easily to associations with known ethnolinguistic groups of the period, nor perhaps should we expect such one-to-one relationships. Were the Baba Jan III inhabitants Medes? Were they even Iranians? Goff feels that they were both, persuaded by the ceramic parallels to Khurvin and Sialk VI, the location of the Baba Jan III culture zone in the eastern Pish-i Kuh close to areas of Assyrian-Median contact, and the architectural continuity between Baba Jan III and the complexes at Godin II and Nush-i Jan I.⁶ But what evidence is there to attribute the material culture of Khurvin and Sialk VI to Medes? And if the Neo-Assyrian sources place Medes in areas close to eastern Luristan, they also place Ellipi right in it. What importance can be attributed to architectural continuity? Goff may well be correct but there are many problems to be resolved before the identification can be considered secure.

Swiny's suggested connection between the Ziwiye-type pottery found throughout his survey area in eastern Kurdistan and south-eastern Azerbaijan and the ancient state of Mannea is also thought-provoking. The earliest historical reference to Mannea dates from the late ninth century B.C., still within the Iron II period,

represented in Swiny's survey area by Late Western Grey Ware pottery.⁷ There is no evident evolution of the Ziwiye-type pottery out of grey ware forms so how are we to reconcile the historical and archaeological evidence? Complicating the problem is the heterogeneous nature of Mannea evident from the Neo-Assyrian sources. At one time or another, Scythians, Iranians, Cimmerians, and the Indaruai are located in Mannean territory. A more intensive archaeological survey of the area is obviously an important requirement before clarification of some of these issues can be expected.

It is important to emphasize that, although the former paradigm of the cultural sequence of western Iran in the first millennium B.C. has been invalidated in its general application, the association of grey ware pottery with Iranians has not been disproved. There is no Holy Writ commanding Iranians to use micaceous buff ware and steadfastly avoid pedestal-based goblets. The ethnolinguistic affinity of the Hasanlu V and IV grey ware pottery and associated material culture is still an open question.⁸

Finally, we come to the Persians/Parsua equation. At present the problem seems intractable and perhaps the only way to resolve it is to continue Stronach's approach of tackling the material culture of the Persians from the south and working backwards and, if the data require, northwards from there.⁹ I would point out, however, my own sceptical view of there ever having been a connection between the Parsua of the central Zagros and the historical Persians of Fars. No-one in the Assyrian sources is ever described as a Parsuan in the gentilic in the same way that Medes or the Madai are mentioned. The

word "Parsua" is always a toponym occurring in an Iranian linguistic area and perhaps it has only a descriptive significance as has been suggested earlier.

One cannot walk away after throwing a spanner in the works of the old generalized paradigm for the Iron Age of western Iran and disavow all responsibility for providing a substitute. At the same time, the problem of re-establishing a terminology that can be usefully applied to all of western Iran does not yield to ready solution. Perhaps we must content ourselves with regional sequences from now on to avoid the confusion of employing Iron I for both the post-Bronze Age Hasanlu V and the late Bronze Age survival of Godin III:1. However, as long as we agree among ourselves to use Iron I, II and III strictly as arbitrarily defined chronological divisions, I see no reason to abandon the terminology. It is its use implying cultural homogeneity that gets us into difficulties. Alfred North Whitehead deserves the last word on the subject.

Now it cannot be too clearly understood that, in science, technical terms are names arbitrarily assigned, like Christian names to children. There can be no question of the names being right or wrong. They may be judicious or injudicious; for they can sometimes be so arranged as to be easy to remember, or as to suggest relevant and important ideas. But the essential principle involved was quite clearly enunciated in Wonderland to Alice by Humpty Dumpty, when he told her, apropos of his use of words, "I pay them extra and make them mean what I like."¹⁰

Having advanced an alternative archaeological paradigm for the cultural dynamics of the central Zagros during the Iron Age and having reviewed the historical evidence bearing on Neo-Assyrian activities there, we have now reached a point where we can profitably build on these foundations. In the following pages, therefore, I

propose to tackle the last two concerns of this study, the objectives of Neo-Assyrian imperialism in the central Zagros and the associated problem of elucidating the origins of the Median state.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. See, for example, L.D. Levine, Iran, 14 (1976), p. 161.
2. See R.D. Drennan, "A Refinement of Chronological Seriation Using Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling," American Antiquity, 41 (1976), pp. 290-302.
3. C. Kramer, "Pots and Peoples," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (1977), pp. 91-112. Quite apart from the difficulties of ascertaining from the ancient epigraphical sources whether we are dealing with actual ethnolinguistic units in the sense employed by modern cultural anthropologists, it is naive to assume that such distinctions will be readily reflected in the material culture of the period under examination.
4. Pottery of Godin II type has recently been excavated in a stratified but ambiguous context at Chogha Mish and represents the first known extension of highland Iron Age III ceramics onto the Khuzistan plain; T.C. Young, Jr., "The Comparative Stratigraphy of Second and First Millennium Khuzistan in Relation to Neighbouring Areas (unpublished MS, West Asian Dept., Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1978). Bridge-spouted vessels, hooked rim bowls, carinated bowls and jars with trefoil pouring rims occur in red and grey burnished and plain buff wares in period III at Tepe Yahya. In addition, excavation exposed a room with what may be two plastered column bases. See C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran, 1967-1969 (Cambridge, Mass.: Amer. School of Prehist. Res., Bulletin 27, 1970), pp. 29-33, figs. 9 and 11 and pls. 12-13 for the pottery and pp. 27 and 132 for the date of period III. On the whole, I would expect the Yahya pottery to turn out to be earlier than that known from Godin II and probably reaching back into the Iron II period. See most recently, C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "Tepe Yahya," Iran, 12 (1974), pp. 220-231, especially p. 231.
5. This observation is hardly original; see T.C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," Iran, 5 (1967), p. 33.
6. C. Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), pp. 40ff.
7. The reference comes from the 30th palû annals of Shalmaneser III; ARAB, I, par. 587.
8. The appearance of grey burnished ceramics in north-western India in the mid-second millennium B.C. has there been associated with a post-Harappan Indo-Aryan occupation; see G. Stacul, "Ochre-Coloured and Grey-Burnished Wares in North-West Indo-Pakistan (c. 1800-1300 B.C.)," East and West, 23 (1973), pp. 79-88. See also on the whole problem, I.N. Medvedskaya, "On the Iranian association of the grey ceramics of early Iron Age Iran,"

Vestnik Drevnei Historii, 1977, no. 2 who doubts the connection; an English translation of this article was made available to me by T.C. Young, Jr.

9. D. Stronach, "Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian Migration to Fars," Iraq, 36 (1974), pp. 239-248.
10. A.N. Whitehead, Introduction to Mathematics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948). The quotation is taken from his chapter on imaginary numbers.

CHAPTER 10

THE OBJECTIVES OF NEO-ASSYRIAN IMPERIALISM IN THE ZAGROS

Most Assyriological studies may be fairly characterized as being within an ideographic historical tradition that concentrates on the documentation of particular events and the actions of specific individuals, usually kings. This assessment of the considerable achievements of past Assyriologists should not be misconstrued as an adverse criticism. To a large measure the nature of the epigraphic sources has imposed certain limitations on the parameters of historical investigation.¹ Recently a number of studies have appeared that signal the development of a neglected avenue of research focussing on the institutional and organizational aspects of Assyrian society.² It might be expected that this shift away from the previous particularist tradition will yield testable hypotheses that seek to explain the structure of ancient Assyrian society and the processes that govern it.

The major themes of the foregoing historical reconstruction have also been particularist in nature. A primary concern has been to establish the geographical parameters of Neo-Assyrian penetration of the Zagros Mountains through the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. with a specific focus on the central-west Zagros where most Assyrian-Median interaction appears to have occurred. In addition, I have attempted to document the frequency and circumstances of Assyrian contact with indigenous Zagros ethnic and political units, again with special

reference to the Medes. In the course of ordering these various historical data, certain continuities and patterns have been inductively perceived and, in what might be called a first level of analysis, have been employed to characterize five periods spanning the three centuries under investigation. However, to elucidate the fundamental processes that underlay the relationships of the lowland nation-state of Assyria with the smaller political and ethnic units of the highlands, it is necessary to proceed with further analysis.³ It is the purpose of this chapter to examine certain hypotheses that address these fundamental processes and to test them against the available evidence.

The major hypothesis that will be advanced and, at least partially, tested in this chapter is that certain economic imperatives guided Neo-Assyrian policies with respect to the Zagros mountain area. Possibly the most notable theme of the prehistory and history of Mesopotamia and Iran is the economic symbiosis of mountain and lowland.⁴ For the prehistoric peoples of Mesopotamia, as well as the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians of the historic periods, the mountains to the east represented the closest and most accessible source of a wide range of products unobtainable in their own territories. To be sure, the level of economic interaction and mutual interdependence waxed and waned according to the vicissitudes of historical circumstance but it was not a symbiosis from which either major ecological zone could free itself without an attendant drop in their economic situation and standard of living.

The degree and nature of dependence on this symbiosis undoubtedly varied between the lowland and highland polities. It is

arguable that the nation-states of Mesopotamia were far more vulnerable economically from any disruption of the symbiosis than were the more self-contained economies of the highland polities, as the products desired--timber, stone, metals, foodstuffs and so forth--were of fundamental importance to the high civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates basin. This may indeed have been the case but it should not be forgotten that apart from sparse archaeological data, our view of the economic interplay between these two zones is largely conditioned by Mesopotamian epigraphic sources which scarcely concern themselves with the benefits accruing to the highlands. In fact, while we know a fair amount, comparatively speaking, about what was being imported into Mesopotamia, we have little direct knowledge of what was being exported to the highland areas in return. It is likely that status goods and finished craft items amongst other things were valued by the highland polities. Less tangible, but equally important, benefits may have accrued to the elite groups governing these polities in the form of alliances with powerful lowland partners that ensured both the continued well-being of the elite group and of the polity itself.

This economic symbiosis is seen as a fundamental process of Mesopotamian prehistory and civilization and has long been acknowledged as such in both archaeological and historical studies of periods prior to the first millennium B.C. For a number of reasons the explanatory value of this hypothesis in relation to the activities of the Neo-Assyrians in the Zagros has gone largely unrecognized. The nature of the relevant epigraphic sources, mostly royal inscriptions and annals, the lack of frequent reference to trading activities,

and an overemphasis of the economic importance of tribute and tax are all factors that have contributed to the neglect of the study of the exchange relationships between the lowlands and the highlands in the first half of the first millennium B.C. At this point, therefore, I would like to turn to a brief examination of some of the problems that have obscured the significance of the hypothesis proposed. Following that, the hypothesis will be discussed in greater detail and the particular significance of it in relation to the economic situation of Assyria in its imperial phase will be outlined.

It must be recalled that most of what we know about Neo-Assyrian penetration of the Zagros Mountains comes from sources written for a royal elite and for their gods about military campaigns. These annals therefore reflect only the narrow concerns that the royal elite wished preserved in this form, a particularly limited abstraction of reality. We have consequently little direct knowledge of Assyria's administrative and provincial presence in the Zagros or of the underlying imperatives that prompted and guided Neo-Assyrian policies in this area. Dependent as we are, therefore, on annalistic campaign accounts, it is appropriate at this juncture to turn to a brief general consideration of Assyrian foreign policy as effected through its military might.⁶

It would be absurd to assume that Assyria stumbled into its empire in a protracted fit of absent-mindedness. It is argued here that military campaigns were launched for sound geopolitical and economic reasons, even if these are never explicitly discussed in the various royal inscriptions and other documents now at our disposal.

It therefore follows that the objectives of campaigns, their timing, direction and extent betray to some degree or other the underlying strategic and economic concerns of the Neo-Assyrian monarchs.

In the early second millennium B.C., Ashur was one of a number of more or less equally powerful city-states. In this context, the primary function of the Assyrian army was largely defensive. Later, the army's role switched to the offensive and the Middle Assyrian monarchs conducted campaigns as large-scale "razzias," plundering their weaker neighbours before retiring to the safety of their own borders. It is in the ninth century B.C. that we perceive a radical development of the campaign concept. This development has been discussed most recently by Grayson who points out:

Before the ninth century the defence policy of Assyria, which had created the army in the first place, included the practice of concluding treaty agreements The arrangement of treaties with equal partners was gradually replaced by quite another device, that of conquest followed by imposition of annual tribute and provincial administration.⁷

In short, the emphasis switched to one of holding conquered territory in vassalage and extracting annual tribute and tax. The process of provincialization, not ineluctable, was one of gradual accretion in situations where a greater degree of control was deemed necessary. It did not depend on simple geographical contiguity. The annual campaign may be viewed, therefore, as a mechanism for the maintenance and extension of the imperial boundaries. In the first case, this normally involved the suppression of a rebellious vassal with the restoration of annual tribute and tax or simply a show of force in a tributary state of doubtful loyalty or security. As an alternative strategy, the subdued vassal state might be absorbed into

the administrative framework of the empire in the form of a province under more direct Assyrian control. The second function of the annual campaign was to conquer new territories either as a punitive raid or to reduce them to tributary or provincial status.

Describing the functions of the annual campaign is relatively straightforward. Assessing the underlying motivations and benefits is somewhat more problematical. In this respect we must distinguish between short and long-term benefits. Victorious campaigns meant booty (tāmartu), an immediate pay-off, while tribute (madattu) and tax (biltu) constituted an on-going flow of income.⁸ In this manner Assyria supplied at least some of its imperial needs. Many of the economic requirements of Assyria are self-evident from booty and tribute lists. Raw materials unobtainable at home, such as timber, certain stones, metals and so forth, were obvious necessities for the burgeoning state. Manpower in the form of corvée labour was needed for the ambitious agricultural and construction programmes undertaken by the Neo-Assyrian monarchs and was also necessary to fill out the ranks of the army. Military equipment and horses for cavalry remounts were important in replenishing stocks depleted by the annual campaigns. Finished items, such as textiles and other luxury goods, would have been in demand not only by the royal and noble elite but by an increasingly affluent urban population. Food was probably also an important consideration insofar as the army would provision itself along the route of march, thereby reducing the demand on food production within Assyria itself.⁹ Further, livestock for food or for draught animals and beasts of burden along with other comestibles

that could be transported were sent back to Assyria itself, a practice presumably designed to relieve pressure on Assyria's own resources and to ensure against periods of underproduction.

All of these are quite obvious benefits of the Assyrian campaign. There can be no question that in the long view the economy of the empire including the resources of tributary states was structured to Assyria's advantage. Were it otherwise, the empire would have economically foundered in its infancy under the strain of mounting campaigns and maintaining an imperial administration. However, we know very little about the articulation of this imperial economic structure, or of the relative importance of tribute, tax, and plunder in the overall picture of Assyria's internal and external sources of income.¹⁰ Plunder, at times, could assume evidently staggering proportions, but until we have more quantitative information on matters of the Assyrian economy, we will have difficulty in judging whether this was exceptional or not.¹¹

Because they are clearly the best documented sources of income due to frequent reference in royal inscriptions, tribute and plunder seem, at least superficially, to be the most important benefits accruing from the empire at any given time. The amount and kind of taxes levied are rarely subjects of detailed description in the same records. It is understandable, therefore, if tribute and plunder and their importance in the overall economy of the empire have become exaggerated in historical perspective, and the importance of other potential sources of income either slighted or ignored. It is also important, moreover, in any discussion of the imperial Assyrian

economy, to keep in mind that we are dealing with a dynamic situation. The empire, despite a number of temporary setbacks, was constantly growing. The ratio of economic resources and manpower between the directly ruled empire (Assyria and its provinces) and the tributary empire (the vassal states) increasingly favoured the former. Postgate has suggested, for example, that by the time of Esarhaddon, it is doubtful whether the amount of annual tribute derived from vassals would have been anywhere near as important as the resources of the directly controlled empire.¹² Given our lack of quantitative data, this hypothesis cannot be directly investigated but it is an important reminder that the imperial Assyrian economy was both complex and fluid.

While the economic motivation for campaigning was undoubtedly of great importance, geopolitical factors must also have played a crucial role in the formulation of Assyrian foreign policy. At various stages throughout the Neo-Assyrian period, Assyrian monarchs found themselves in open competition with other great nation-states such as Babylonia, Egypt and Urartu for access to and control of vital economic resources and strategic positions. By alliance and conquest, vassalage and provincialization, Assyria sought to subvert the threat to its interests from these states and, to a large degree, was successful in so doing. In a sense, of course, geopolitical motivations for campaigning could also be understood as fundamentally economic. I make the distinction, however artificial it may appear, because in some campaigns the Assyrians seem to be fighting less for their own immediate economic gain and more for the strategic and economic detriment of a competitor.¹³

So far, I have discussed the evolution of Assyrian military and foreign policies. I have also touched on some of the functions of the Assyrian campaign—to ensure the empire's strategic well-being through the maintenance and, where necessary, the extension of its frontiers and to ensure the empire's economic well-being by the collection of tribute, tax, and plunder. One other role of the Assyrian army remains to be considered and that concerns the question of international and interregional trade in the Neo-Assyrian empire. The idea that the Assyrians campaigned to protect trade and trade routes is scarcely novel but it has seldom been discussed in any detail due to the lack of documentary and archaeological evidence.¹⁴ It is important at this point to underscore the distinction being drawn between tribute, tax and plunder on the one hand and trade on the other. The economic benefits of the first category of income were essentially one-sided in favour of Assyria. In return for meeting these impositions, tributary states and provinces received alliances, provincial administration and the pax Assyriaca but probably little in the way of immediate economic gain.

The benefits of trade, however, are by definition bilateral even if the relative gain on each side is not always equal. To some extent, the Assyrians must have short-circuited previous patterns of economic exchange by their system of tribute, tax and taking spoil, but on a priori grounds, it is difficult to believe that they supplanted them completely. The exchange of goods and, to a lesser degree, services between the different ecological and cultural zones of the Near East is a matter of long record and was a sine qua non for the economic viability of the region as a whole.¹⁵

The concept of trade is most commonly identified in historical and archaeological studies of the ancient Near East with long distance trade.¹⁶ The latter always involves the passage of goods across ethnic and political boundaries and usually, but not exclusively, deals with raw materials and finished craft items and status goods. It is, therefore, the type of economic exchange most often documented in both historical and archaeological sources and, as a consequence the system to which historians and archaeologists alike devote most of their attention.

Local trade, or exchange within a single ethnic group or between neighbouring ethnic groups, usually deals with perishable items and is less subject to bureaucratic control. Although of undoubtedly greater importance to the economic base of ancient society than long-distance trade, this type of exchange generally speaking is poorly documented archaeologically and historically, and seldom studied.¹⁷

The lack of epigraphic references to international trade in the Neo-Assyrian period has therefore dissuaded most historians from even limited discussion of the problem. Indeed, some have come perilously close to a methodologically inadmissible argumentum ex silentio in suggesting that international trade therefore must have been relatively unimportant in Assyrian foreign policy.¹⁸ If we consider the social and institutional context of long-range trade in this period, then the absence of references to trade in Assyrian sources may perhaps be explained. If, for example, such trade was in private hands or, normally conducted outside of the palace, then the documentation would lie beyond royal precincts.¹⁹ However, given an almost exclusive archaeological focus on Assyrian royal complexes, the lack of

documentation can be viewed as the product of archaeological priorities and strategies.²⁰ Yet another phenomenon may explain the poverty of our source material. It has been suggested that the adoption of Aramaic, written on perishable materials for the most part, as a method of recording business and trade transactions may well account for the lack of evidence.²¹

We are, however, not totally deprived of epigraphic evidence. It is possible to point to a number of references either to trade itself or to practices associated with trade in Neo-Assyrian documents.²² From the royal inscriptions, for example, one may adduce three relatively unambiguous references to international trade. The first of these occurs in a fragmentary passage in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III where reference is made to "the trading-centre of Assyria." The lacunae surrounding this reference preclude inferences going beyond the immediate implications of the phrase.²³ The second instance dates to the reign of Sargon II. Following his successful campaign against Egypt's Palestinian border, Sargon records that he obliged the Egyptians to open up "its [Egypt's] sealed-off frontiers" so that the people of Assyria and Egypt could bid for the contents. The precise meaning of the passage cannot be regarded as unambiguous but it is difficult to see in it a connotation other than the enforced incorporation of Egypt into a free-trade zone.²⁴ The third reference stems from the time of Esarhaddon. Along with his intention to rebuild Babylon and repair the damage inflicted by Sennacherib, Esarhaddon restores certain rights to the city. One of these is the privilege of unrestricted trade with the entire world, a hollow privilege if

international trade did not flourish.²⁵ It is important to note, in addition, that it was the Assyrian monarch who was granting the privilege, implying that international trade in Mesopotamia was not only an Assyrian concern but under royal control.

Additional evidence of royal involvement in matters of trade is supplied by the Sargonid royal correspondence in which frequent mention is made to merchants (tamkārū) although it is never clear whether these individuals are acting privately or as agents of the crown.²⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have a similar genre of documents from earlier or later periods so that this situation cannot be extrapolated with complete assurance before and after the reign of Sargon II.

Another strand of evidence may be interwoven into this discussion of trade in the Neo-Assyrian empire. Cross-cultural studies of trade show a number of common features adopted to minimize potential hostility which may arise in the crossing of ecological, ethnic or geopolitical boundaries.²⁷ These "boundary mechanisms" may include trade friendships, trade partnerships in the form of agreements and contracts, ceremonial exchange, and the establishment of ports of trade.

Evidence for trade friendships and trade partnerships is slim for the Neo-Assyrian period although Sargon's reference to opening up Egypt may fall into this category as might Esarhaddon's restoration of trading privileges to Babylon. Despite the seemingly unilateral nature of these actions, at least some degree of consent and cooperation was required from the other parties involved. There is no

evidence for ceremonial exchange in the Neo-Assyrian sources unless the imperfectly understood nāmurtu payments fall into this category.²⁸ However, the establishment of ports of trade is a well-documented Neo-Assyrian practice.

Ports of trade were one of the major devices for long-range trade in early state societies, evolving in response to the need for neutral meeting places guaranteeing safety from potentially hostile groups or states.²⁹ Such cities were normally characterized by a number of features designed to maintain their status and function. These generally included economic administration, political neutrality and ease of transportation.

The economic administration of the port of trade usually involved the strict supervision of visiting traders, sometimes in special wards or sectors of the city, and tight control of all prices and economic transactions separate from local market activities. Ports of trade were either independent states or possessions of a hinterland empire. Neutrality was safeguarded either by a consensus of the foreign trading powers involved, supplemented by the port's own military strength, or by agreement between the port and the hinterland empire to which, in the last analysis, it belonged. As might be expected such ports of trade were strategically located either along the sea coast in well-protected harbours or at favourable positions on major overland trade routes.

The Neo-Assyrian practice of founding kāru cities would seem to relate directly to the phenomenon of ports of trade. Kāru may be translated alternatively as "port, harbour, quay, or trading station"; whatever the precise translation of the term may be, there can be

little doubt as to their function as centres of economic exchange. After the conquest of Bit Adini in 856 B.C., Shalmaneser III renamed Til Barsip as Kar-Shulmanu-asharedu. The location of the city on the Euphrates just downstream from Carchemish and in close proximity to the Levant was obviously of some economic importance. Similarly, when Esarhaddon destroyed Sidon in 677/676 B.C. he founded nearby an Assyrian commercial colony named Kar-Ashur-ahu-iddina. It is assumed that the function of this new centre was to replace Sidon as a port of trade and, by acting as a focal point of Assyrian trade in the west, to diminish or eliminate the power of the Phoenician mercantile cities that had previously been the intermediaries of exchange.³⁰ Finally, a number of kāru cities were established in central-west Iran by Sargon II. During his sixth palû campaign of 716 B.C. the city of Harhar was taken and renamed Kar-Sharrukin to serve as the focus of a new province. In the following year, four additional cities were captured and renamed Kar Nabu, Kar Sin, Kar Adad and Kar Ishtar.³¹

We lack any direct evidence on the internal organization of these kāru cities and the degree of resemblance to the paradigm of a port of trade outlined above cannot be ascertained. However, their special economic function as centres of exchange can be accepted as a working hypothesis; the subject obviously warrants further archaeological and historical investigation.

In summary, therefore, a number of different strands of evidence have been adduced to demonstrate that long-range international trade was alive and well in the Neo-Assyrian empire. To be sure, we know little of the economic importance of this trade for Assyria in

relation to other sources of income, both internal and external. If the kāru cities were functioning as ports of trade as has been argued here, then we might infer that the practice of building, organizing and populating these cities with Assyrians or deportees implies a pronounced concern with international trade on the part of the Assyrian monarchs. We must also confess relative ignorance as to what was being traded, and what the social and institutional context of the merchant and his business was. That direct reference to mercantile matters rarely figures in the Assyrian epigraphic sources should not occasion great surprise considering the genre of the material. Even so, three fairly unequivocal references to international trade in royal inscriptions, the long-standing practice of founding kāru cities, and frequent mention of merchants in the Sargonid royal correspondence support the contention that international trade demonstrably existed in the empire and that the Neo-Assyrian monarchs would have been ~~derelict~~ in their responsibility had they not sought to promote mercantilism and protect trade routes.³²

Having discussed some of the general aspects of Assyrian foreign policy, military campaigning and involvement in mercantile matters, I would now like to turn to the examination of patterns of Assyrian activities in the Zagros Mountains during the three centuries under review. Any attempt to perceive the underlying motives of Assyrian intervention in its eastern periphery must of necessity be tentative. The nature of the historical records and their haphazard preservation, not to mention the lack of corroborative material from other contemporary sources, often preclude even a comfortable level of inference. Assyrian foreign policy was, as has been already

argued, guided by complex mercantile and geopolitical factors. Within the context of a single campaign, it is therefore often difficult to decide from the epigraphic sources whether strategic or economic considerations were uppermost, whether the campaign was part of an ongoing policy or an ad hoc response to some immediate crisis. But to abandon the effort, pleading the intractability of the sources, would be to abdicate the historian's responsibility to go beyond the particularist approach of cataloging events.

The way out of this dilemma arguably lies in the analytical perception of patterns and trends in Assyrian activities, the fashioning of an explanatory hypothesis, and the discussion of evidence at hand that either contradicts or confirms the hypothesis, leading to rejection or refinement and the further testing of the concepts involved by archaeological and historical research.

At this point, therefore, it is germane to recapitulate briefly the results of the lengthy historical narrative that stands at the beginning of this work in order to provide a basis for a preliminary understanding of the aims and objectives of Neo-Assyrian imperialism in the Zagros.

In the first period (911-783 B.C.) I have documented the gradual consolidation of an Assyrian provincial presence as far east as the northern chaîne magistrale and as far south as the Derbend-i-Khan. This policy is particularly evident during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II: After a few feeble attempts to contest areas such as Bit Hamban, there is no evidence of further Babylonian interest or intervention in the Zagros.

Following this, from the middle of the reign of Shalmaneser III onwards, Assyrian and Urartian penetration of the Zagros converged and the two nations indirectly contested each other's control of the indigenous Zagros polities. The Assyrian provincial system underwent no extension. The pattern of Assyrian penetration was one of tribute collection, conquest when necessary, and withdrawal at the close of the campaign season. It is in this period that we have the earliest known contacts between the Assyrians and the Medes who were evidently resident in the central Zagros, more specifically in the area immediately east of the Mahidasht/Kermanshah region.

These early territorial gains were undoubtedly lost during the second period defined (782-745 B.C.), one of Assyrian military weakness and inactivity.³³ Capitalizing on its temporary advantage, Urartu made frequent raids deep into the Zagros, at times striking as far south as Parsua in the northern Mahidasht area.

It is with the third period (745-705 B.C.) that the situation changes radically. Following a series of patterned attacks on Urartu and its sphere of influence by both Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, the "Urartian question" was finally resolved. The northern nation was never again to pose a serious threat to Assyrian interests. Coincidentally, we can document the consolidation of Assyrian power in the Zagros with the extension of the provincial system into the area around Kermanshah.

In the fourth period (704-669 B.C.) this Assyrian provincial presence is repeatedly challenged by indigenous Zagros polities. Both

Sennacherib and Esarhaddon encountered stiff resistance and outbreaks of rebellion from Mannea, Ellipi and the various Median enclaves. It is possible, but not at present demonstrable, that this opposition was at least in part prompted and supported by Elam. The complicity of Elam in the Ellipian dynastic succession crisis during Sargon's reign is a matter of record. In addition, new ethnic groups such as the Scythians, Cimmerians and the Indaruai appear in the Assyrian epigraphic sources, sometimes acting in concert with the older Zagros polities and ethnic groups. The situation is fluid, confused and, at least at times, of obvious concern to the Assyrians as the eastern alliances threaten their interests in the area.

The fifth period (668-609 B.C.) is, unfortunately, the most poorly documented. Ashurbanipal claims to have re-established control over the Zagros but his success could only have been partial and short-lived. Mannea was perhaps an exception as it appears as an Assyrian ally at the battle of Gablini in 616 B.C. It is possible that by this late stage the Mannaeans had come to realize that only a continuing Assyrian presence could safeguard them from being swallowed up by a nascent Media. If we are to give any credence to the story of Herodotus, the Assyrians may have temporarily defused the Median threat through Scythian intermediaries but, at least as early as 615 B.C., the Medes were independent and strong enough to mount an attack on Arrapha. The following year Ashur and Tarbisu fell to the Medes following an unsuccessful siege of Nineveh. The end was not long in coming and in 612 B.C. the Assyrian capital succumbed to the combined onslaught of the Median and Babylonian forces after a protracted

siege. Having established the broad pattern of Assyrian involvement in the Zagros, we can now turn to an examination of the underlying motives.

The economic motives for Assyrian imperial expansion to the west and north-west are transparently obvious. In North Syria, Cappadocia and the Levant lay the great trading cities and ports of the Mediterranean, rich mercantile centres that could yield abundant tribute and trade. Here also were the sources or transit areas for a vast range of goods such as timber, iron, tin, copper, textiles, ivory and a cornucopia of luxury products emanating from the Levant itself or from Africa, Egypt, Anatolia or Europe. The economic benefits of plugging the Assyrian economy into this rich mercantile network through tribute, tax, plunder and trade are self-evident.³⁴

Assyria's eastern empire is, at least superficially, somewhat harder to explain in terms of obvious economic advantage. Despite incontrovertible archaeological evidence, such as the so-called Luristan bronzes, that trade flourished in the Zagros in the early first millennium B.C., the lack of historical information has largely directed attention away from economic explanations. Lists of tribute derived from the Zagros area seem impoverished and pedestrian in comparison to similar lists of western tribute. In view of these circumstances, it is perhaps unsurprising that strategic arguments were most often adduced in the explanation of Assyrian policies in the east.

In a work such as Olmstead's History of Assyria the strategic argument is either explicitly stated or implicitly assumed in his explanation of Assyrian intervention in the east. Assyria acted to

protect her eastern flank against perceived or potential threat.

Adad-nirari III was obliged to campaign in the east because of "the imminent danger of the Median hordes."³⁵ The latter threatened the security of Assyria because "there was too much nomadism in the Median blood to permit them to be content in mountains more conspicuous for picturesqueness than for fertility."³⁶ In an effort to redress the balance tipped against the Assyrians by Byron's famous lines and western ethnocentrism, Olmstead depicts the Assyrians as champions of civilization defending the Near East against the "savage tribes . . . and equally backward Indo-Europeans from the northern grasslands until they had been at least varnished with the elements of the older culture."³⁷ It is not at all clear whether Olmstead perceived any economic advantage in Assyria's eastern campaigns at all or whether he saw such gains as marginal, at best covering expenses, at worst being subsidized by Assyrian income from other areas of the empire.

The strategic hypothesis was undoubtedly prompted by hindsight. The Medes were instrumental in the military downfall of Assyria and therefore their potential as a military threat could reasonably be extrapolated backwards in time. The argument cannot be disproven but a number of observations are in order. There is nothing in the Assyrian sources, at least prior to the reign of Esarhaddon, that would suggest that the Medes were anything more than a local nuisance. Lest this be taken as an argumentum ex silentio, some expansion on that statement is necessary. The Assyrians were notoriously averse to recording setbacks but they had no compunction about boasting of victories or the size of the armies that faced them. However, the Medes are consistently represented as nothing more than small

fragmented chiefdoms that could be picked off one at a time. It was not until the reign of Esarhaddon that the Assyrians face "alliances" in the Zagros. Coincidentally, it was in the reign of Cyaxares that, according to Herodotus, the Medes first acquired an organized army. It is reasonable to argue, therefore, that strategic considerations informed Assyrian policies in the east from the time of Esarhaddon onwards but it is not reasonable to project these concerns back in time as an explanation for the genesis of Assyria's eastern empire. The Assyrian monarch or general of the late ninth century B.C. who foresaw in the politically fragmented, mudbrick Median villages of the central Zagros the juggernaut that would, some two centuries later under a centralized monarchical state, roll over the Assyrian empire would have had a perspicacity bordering on prophetic insight.

To understand the origins of Assyrian imperialism in its eastern periphery, it is necessary to take a closer look at the economic arguments. The hypothesis I have suggested, that long-range trade passing through the Zagros from points further east influenced Assyrian policies in the area, is not novel. Most recently it has been advanced by Levine and it is useful to review briefly the salient points of his argument.³⁸

East-west movement through the Zagros is effectively constrained by topographical considerations. While foot traffic is less hampered, for trade caravans there are only two viable routes, one through southern Azerbaijan and one through Kurdistan.³⁹ Levine has suggested that Assyria's desire to control the eastern trade brought it into competition with Urartu and that the alternate use of these

routes explains the overall shifts in Assyrian policies in the east. His analysis divides Assyrian activities into three periods reflecting the rise and fall of Assyrian fortunes.

In the first period (ca. 900-825 B.C.), the eastern trade flowed along the northern route with Hasanlu and other sites like it acting as commercial entrepôts. At this stage the only other major competitor for the eastern trade was Babylonia, and Assyria kept the southern route unsettled by military razzias that effectively disrupted trade traffic along it.

The second period (ca. 825-744 B.C.) sees a basic power shift with Babylonian decline and Urartian ascendancy. The northern route falls under Urartian control and Assyria enters a period of weakness. Urartu, adopting the former Assyrian policy, keeps the southern route unsettled by means of bold military strikes down through the Zagros to central-west Iran.

Under Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, Assyria re-emerges as a strong power. This third period (ca. 744-700 B.C.) sees Assyrian stabilization of the southern route through a policy of provincialization. Urartu's control of the eastern trade is thus outflanked and subsequent military defeat seals the issue.

The hypothesis is certainly provocative and merits further investigation but there are a number of areas that demand reconsideration and refinement. Chief among these is the lack of archaeological evidence for the presence of eastern trade products along the northern route during the first of the periods defined. In assessing Hasanlu as a commercial entrepôt, Levine points to the remarkable finds

preserved in the destruction levels of Hasanlu IVB. Most of these luxury items are evidently of local origin but there are many that display foreign influences, indicating some western contact. In addition, other goods such as ivories, cylinder seals, some metal work, glazed tiles, lion bowls, glass pieces and some inscribed objects are clearly imports from Assyria and further west. The question arises as to whether these objects are presumptive evidence of east-west trade along the northern route.

The presence of such western objects in a ninth century B.C. archaeological context in southern Azerbaijan is not surprising. The Hasanlu area is relatively accessible from Assyria. Further, in discussing the historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros, I have already argued that the small polity of Gilzanu probably lay on the south-west shore of Lake Urmia, either close to or incorporating the Solduz region in which Hasanlu is located.⁴⁰ Receipt of tribute from Gilzanu is recorded for the first regnal year campaign of Ashurnasirpal II in 883 B.C. The last known tribute payment from Gilzanu occurs in the 31st palu campaign of Shalmaneser III in 828 B.C. Therefore, we can document a minimum span of half a century during which Gilzanu was a client state of Assyria, circumstances that would easily explain the presence of Assyrian and western objects at a site such as Hasanlu. Whether the objects arrived in Hasanlu as a result of restricted trade between Assyria and the Hasanlu region, or as gifts between royal elites, or as possessions of Assyrians resident in the area, or as a combination of these factors cannot be determined.⁴¹ However, the presence of these objects in Hasanlu does not

necessarily constitute evidence of an east-west trade through the region. This is not to deny the existence of an east-west trade along the northern route in the first period defined by Levine but merely to emphasize that at present there is no direct evidence, either archaeological or historical, to support the hypothesis, and that the presence of western goods at Hasanlu may be otherwise explained.

There is, in fact, nothing in the Hasanlu IVB assemblage that can be unequivocally tied in with eastern sources. The evidence adduced by Levine with reservations includes amber, gold, silver and bronze objects. These are all possibly derived from the east but, as Levine notes, could just as easily come from western and northern sources as well. Objects in carnelian and turquoise, unmentioned by Levine, may constitute better evidence of eastern trade connections. However, the almost total absence of lapis lazuli, virtually a touchstone of the eastern trade, in an inventory of thousands of objects at Hasanlu is glaring.⁴² If an east-west trading network was in operation and Hasanlu was an integral part of it, it would seem that lapis lazuli was not an object of its attention.⁴³

Despite a certain elegance, Levine's hypothesis suffers from a number of weaknesses. It fails to explain why Babylonia in the first period was in competition with Assyria for control of a trade route through central-west Iran when a route through Khuzistan was possibly available. In addition, neither the Urartian nor the Assyrian historical sources can be used to document any sustained effort by the Urartians to disrupt the southern trade route in the second period and I would argue that the effort would have to

be sustained to be at all effective. We know only of a single raid that reached Barshua/Parsua. Otherwise, the pattern of Urartian activities was directed against Mannea, not directly involved in the southern trade route. Assyrian military activities in the north-west Zagros can be understood in terms of containing Urartian encroachment on Mannea and the subversion of the latter's provinces of Zikirtu and Andia and also as an effort to destroy Urartu's economic base in Azerbaijan.

With regard to the latter point, I refer back to the earlier reconstruction of Sargon's 8th palû campaign. It was argued that former hypotheses concerning the overall strategy of the campaign had to be abandoned in the light of a revised historical geography. The intention, whether deliberate or formed on the spur of the moment, was never to strike at the heart of Urartu. Had that been the object of the campaign, Sargon would have scarcely telegraphed his punch by first marching through much of the central Zagros. It is clear moreover, from the presence of Rusa himself and the main body of the Urartian army that Azerbaijan was considered to be of the utmost importance. Whether Sargon was surprised at having such a major battle thrust on him cannot be determined with any certainty from his account of the campaign. What is crucial to our understanding of the campaign is the aftermath of the confrontation. Rather than exploit the military advantage offered by a fleeing routed force, the Assyrian army set about dismantling the Urartian provincial and economic presence in the Urmia region. It is argued here that had Sargon desired a military showdown with Urartu, he could have chosen

more propitious circumstances than fighting it in Zikirtu. Had he intended to strike deep into Urartu itself, his preliminary tour of the central Zagros becomes inexplicable. The time spent in that exercise did not allow him to press his military advantage when the situation arose.

It is much more reasonable to suppose that Sargon's aims were geographically and strategically limited. The central Zagros required a show of force, the Mannean provinces of Andia and Zikirtu were to be brought back within the fold, and a major blow was to be struck against the Urartian presence around Urmia. The amount of campaign time allotted for each purpose was adequate to the task. Pursuing a routed army was a futile exercise when greater advantage was to be gained by the systematic destruction of the fortresses, fields, orchards, dikes and irrigation canals of the Urartian provinces. The agricultural potential of Azerbaijan would take generations to restore. The success of this strike against the most important area of arable land within the Urartian domain is evident in the immediate cessation of Urartian-Assyrian conflict from that point onwards. The Urartian economy had been crippled.

At this point I would like to emphasize that the arguments I have advanced do not disprove Levine's hypothesis concerning the fluctuations of an east-west long range trade. My major concerns have been firstly to remove some of the data from consideration as inappropriate evidence, secondly to argue that much of the remaining data may be understood within the context of a local exchange system, and thirdly to suggest that there are more compelling explanations

for Assyrian-Urartian interaction in the northern Zagros. In pointing to the importance of considering the economic effects of long-range trade, Levine has brought about a valuable re-orientation of our perspective on Assyrian imperialism in the east. In the following section, I would like to consider a fresh approach to the question of long-range trade in conjunction with certain economic benefits originating within the Zagros mountains. It is in these two economic spheres that I see the circumstances that allow explanation of the pattern of Assyrian imperialism in the east, the rise of the Median state, and the political, if not economic, pre-eminence of Hamadān (Ecbatana) within that state.

It has been argued that there is little evidence, either textual or archaeological, that unambiguously points to a thriving international trade along the northern route in Western Iran during the first millennium B.C. With regard to the southern route along the Great Khorasan Road, the situation is somewhat different. Here we do have some fragments of evidence of both kinds that, when pieced together, definitely suggest that long-range trade was moving along this route during the third period defined by Levine, that is from 744 B.C. onwards. The textual evidence is of two kinds, one being references to trade goods seized in central-west Iran while the other being references to the use of those goods in Assyria.

In the course of his 2nd palû campaign, Tiglath-pileser III records the seizure of lapis lazuli in Araziash in central-west Iran. The amount is unspecified but there can be little doubt that genuine lapis is meant.⁴⁴ Further on in the same annalistic account,

there is the record of a gift by Mannu-kima-sabe, King of Abdadani, of 300 talents of lapis lazuli and 500 talents of refined (?) copper. Depending on whether the heavy or light talent was being used, this is equivalent to between 9 and 18 tons of lapis and 15 to 30 tons of copper.⁴⁵

The implications of these notices must be drawn out a little. Several tons of lapis lazuli cannot be the result of desultory local exchange filtering all the way west across the Iranian plateau from Afghanistan, the source area.⁴⁶ Nor is it likely that the elite of Abdadani or Araziash used lapis on such a scale that we can suppose the lapis trade terminated in Central West Iran. The question is, therefore, where can we document large scale use of lapis lazuli? The answer lies in Assyria.

Ashurnasirpal II claims to have inlaid the shrine of Ninurta with gold and lapis.⁴⁷ This practice of employing lapis lazuli for architectural adornment also appears in the reign of Esarhaddon who boasts that in the rebuilding of the old palace at Nineveh and the construction of other palaces he made for each palace a cornice and frieze of hematite and lapis lazuli.⁴⁸ The obvious inference is that lapis was being used in considerable amounts. There is, of course, the problem of determining whether this was genuine lapis or the manufactured substitute. However, in a prism inscription, Esarhaddon relates how the Medes brought him tribute in Nineveh that consisted of "blocks of lapis quarried in the mountains."⁴⁹ Here, obviously, the genuine lapis is meant. Ashurbanipal also claims to have used lapis in the friezes of buildings.⁵⁰

The archaeological evidence from central-west Iran for an east-west trade route can be described as minimal. This is not understood as reflecting a weakness of the hypothesis; instead, such a phenomenon is to be expected considering the small number of sites excavated and their nature. Unlike Hasanlu IVB, Godin Tepe and Nush-i Jan were peacefully abandoned and the presence of elite goods resulting from foreign trade would be surprising. Baba Jan Tepe is a somewhat different case; level III and its finds suggest abandonment with at least moderate haste. Most portable objects of any value seem to have been removed, however. Levels II and I which were evidently abandoned peacefully have yielded no good evidence either. It is to be expected that no corpus of hard evidence will be forthcoming until we identify and excavate Iron Age sites with destruction levels in elite structures comparable to the Hasanlu situation. All of the above sites yielded bronze objects but the sources of the constituent metals are unknown and the amount of bronze is, in any case, inadequate to support the hypothesis of a vigorous metal trade either in finished objects or refined ores. Due to the ongoing research of Vanden Berghe, however, we now have a considerable body of evidence which may point to a vigorous trade in bronze and, to a lesser degree, iron, throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages.⁵¹

The epigraphical evidence therefore points to an east-west trade system functioning in the central Zagros in Levine's third period and dealing in lapis lazuli, probably copper and possibly other items of which we have no record. The archaeological evidence is scanty but the small number of excavated sites and the

circumstances under which they were abandoned mitigate this absence of relevant data. The phenomenon of the Luristan cemeteries would, however, tend to support an hypothesis of a vigorous copper trade, possibly from the east, throughout the Iron Age.⁵²

Having considered the evidence for long-range trade passing through central-west Iran in the Neo-Assyrian period, I would now like to turn to a consideration of the potential economic benefits for the Assyrian empire in goods originating within the central Zagros itself.

In the foregoing preliminary discussion of trade and economic factors of imperialism, I have already referred to the long-standing economic interaction of mountain and lowland areas in greater Mesopotamia. It is fair to say that this symbiosis has received scant attention in historical studies of the early first millennium B.C. and the following discussion should therefore be seen as a preliminary attempt to redress this situation.

There can be little doubt that a certain amount of economic interaction between mountain and lowland, whether organized formally or informally, has always prevailed in the prehistory and history of Mesopotamia. It is arguable, however, that developments within Assyria itself during the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. brought about a situation wherein, as far as the Assyrians were concerned, steps had to be taken to ensure this continuing economic symbiosis.

From the time of Ashurnasirpal II onwards, we can perceive a trend to urbanization in Assyria unprecedented in its previous

history. A growing proportion of the Assyrian population, including royalty and nobility, administrators and bureaucrats, temporary and permanent army personnel, and a burgeoning urban proletariat, spent all or a significant portion of each year engaged in non-subsistence activities. As the empire became more centralized, the indigenous Assyrian population was augmented by the importation of labourers, draftsmen and slaves from other parts of the empire. Much of the labour force was invested in the construction and adornment of royal architectural complexes on a scale previously unparalleled in the Near East.

As the ratio between population and resources, particularly of food, altered, the political centre of the empire must have developed an increasing dependence on foreign supplies. To some extent, this need may have been assuaged by the intensification of the Assyrian subsistence base. Extensive irrigation projects were undertaken by both Ashurnasirpal II and Sennacherib and perhaps can be understood as attempts to boost food production in the Assyrian heartland.⁵³ It is unlikely, however, that such projects could have matched the rapid rise in demand.⁵⁴ Further alleviation of the problem undoubtedly came from tribute, tax, and the spoils of campaigning but these sources of income, particularly if derived from western tributaries and provinces, were largely elite goods, craft items, raw materials, and to a lesser extent, livestock.⁵⁵

However, the transportation of food, particularly of perishable comestibles, would have presented real logistical problems for the Assyrians and it would have been natural for them to have been most

interested in food sources closest to Assyria itself. No historian of Assyria can avoid noticing the tremendous disparity between the lists of tribute derived from the eastern provinces in comparison with other areas of the empire. An excellent example of the contrast is afforded by Tiglath-pileser III's recently discovered 9th palû stele. In column IIIA we are provided with a list of western tributaries followed by a general description of the tribute exacted from them.

- 20: tribute and gifts, silver, gold, tin, iron,
- 21: elephant hide, ivory, blue purple & red purple garments,
- 22: trimmed linen garments, dromedaries,
- 23: she-camels, I imposed on them.

This is followed by the acknowledgement of somewhat more prosaic tribute received from Mannea, Ellipi, Namri, Singibuti, and of "the chieftains of all the mountains."

- 28: horses, mules, Bactrian camels,
- 29: cattle, sheep, I imposed on them (as tribute).⁵⁶

The usual explanation of this disparity is that it reflects the relative poverty of the eastern tributary states in comparison with those of other more affluent areas of the Near East. There is, no doubt, some truth to this statement but it should not go unnoticed that some eastern polities could, on occasion, yield tribute matching that of other areas of the empire in kind, if not in quantity.⁵⁷ Nor should historians ignore the dazzling archaeological finds from a site such as Hasanlu IVB. It is possible, in fact, that as historians we have collectively overlooked the obvious--the Assyrians probably assessed tribute not simply on the basis of what they could get, which to some extent would be determined by the resources of the region in

question, but also on the basis of what they needed. The discrepancy between eastern tribute lists and those of other areas of the empire can thus be explained as a function primarily of Assyrian needs in terms of what each region had to offer.

In the light of these statements, the eastern tribute lists require re-examination. There are frequent references in lists of tribute and booty expropriated from the Zagros polities to livestock, mostly cattle, sheep, goat, horses, and donkeys. These are, in fact, the most common categories of tribute and spoil derived from eastern sources. It is seldom that any quantitative data are given in the Neo-Assyrian sources but two examples will suffice to show that the numbers of animals involved could be prodigious.

In his 9th palu stele referred to earlier, Tiglath-pileser III lists the horse tribute received from a number of Median city chiefs. The list is incomplete and the numbers of horses are missing from at least the last four lines. However, at an absolute minimum, we have a total of 1,615 animals.⁵⁸ One cannot be certain that this was annual tribute as opposed to an extraordinary "tribute" collected during the king's progression through his empire but if the former, the Median chiefs must have had huge breeding stocks in order to sustain this level of annual depletion. A second example is afforded by the annals of Sargon II's 9th palu campaign which list tribute from Mannea, Ellipi, Allabria and forty-five Median city chiefs totalling 4,609 horses, mules, oxen, and small cattle.⁵⁹

Two important inferences arise from these notices. Firstly, that the Zagros polities must have evolved economies geared to deal

with such annual imposts without suffering collapse. Secondly, and conversely, that Assyria relied heavily on a continuing flow of live-stock from the Zagros mountain valleys. It would not have been in their own short- or long-term interests to have bled the region dry. We must assume, unless there is evidence to the contrary, that the Assyrians managed the economy of the empire with a view to striking a balance between their own needs and the level at which the various provinces and tributaries could satisfy those needs without incurring fundamental economic damage.

There is some evidence that the Assyrians derived from the Zagros comestibles other than livestock. These notices come from the unique Sargonid royal correspondence and consequently apply only to a limited chronological period. Nevertheless, the situation they reflect may well have wider repercussions. All of the examples adduced relate to Assyrian interest in the growing or shipping of grain in the eastern mountains.

In ABL 126, for example, Mannu-ki-Ninua, a high official in the administration of the province of Kar-Sharrukin (Harhar), assures the king that "the seed will be planted" thus reflecting royal concern for the sowing of crops in the central Zagros. In another letter, ABL 128, the same author replies to Sargon's queries as to the reason for the delay in sending the grain harvest. Mannu-ki-Ninua pleads that the weather has been unseasonably wet. This latter document is of particular importance in signalling the immediacy, indeed urgency, of Assyrian royal interest in the grain harvest of Kar-Sharrukin.⁶⁰ The argument hinges on the slight time differential between when the

grain could be harvested and the moment of reply when it was about to be harvested. That Sargon could know that the grain was late in its despatch to Assyria and could reply before the delayed harvest had been brought in not only implies an efficient system of communication but, more importantly for our purpose here, a tight monitoring of agricultural activities in the central Zagros by the royal bureaucracy. Even the slightest of delays in harvesting the grain, and we must be dealing with an elapsed time of no more than a few weeks, was enough to prompt a worried enquiry by the king. The inescapable conclusion is that the Kar-Sharrukin grain harvest was of considerable importance to the Assyrian economy.

This royal concern is further reflected in ABL 311 in which Šar-emuranni, governor of Mazamua, tells Sargon that he has sent a freeman back to Zamua to reap the harvest; he himself appears to be on an expedition to Parsua.⁶¹ Once again, it follows that the Zamuan harvest and Šar-emuranni's delegation of responsibility were matters of royal importance.

Unfortunately, we lack any quantitative data that might provide at least a rough idea of how much grain was being shipped back to Assyria. A Neo-Assyrian document which lists towns making grain payments to the Assyrian capital may give some indication, at least on a comparative basis. While Erbil is listed as having despatched 70 homers of grain and other towns send more, up to 1,100 homers, the central Zagros town of Hirite shipped no less than 2,000 homers.⁶²

I would not go so far as to suggest that the Zagros became for Assyria what Egypt was for Rome. In the latter case, large

quantities of grain and other comestibles could be transported cheaply and efficiently by sea. Such accessibility simply did not obtain in the case of Zagros. Given the logistical problems involved in massive grain shipment, it is perhaps likely that the Zagros was of greater importance as a source of livestock than as an agricultural base supplementing that of Assyria.⁶³ Nevertheless, the degree of royal concern in the letter adduced as evidence here show that the Zagros grain shipments were of considerable importance.

To summarize, therefore, the major concern of Assyrian imperialism in the east was fundamentally economic in nature. It is argued here that this was ultimately the strongest rationale for Assyrian eastern policies in both their broad outline and detail. We know nothing about the economic interplay between the Zagros mountains and the Assyrian lowlands in the early stages of the rise of Neo-Assyria, that is, in the period prior to Ashurnasirpal II (911-891 B.C.). The exchange of products and services was perhaps conducted along traditional and informal lines without the direct involvement of the Assyrian administration but the question can only be clarified by further historical and archaeological research. However, I would argue that as an increasingly urbanized and growing Assyrian population became more and more vulnerable to any disruption of the flow of food and materials from the mountains, the Assyrian kings sought to systematize and control the economic symbiosis of the two adjacent ecological zones. Stability was required in both and, if not achieved indigenously in the Zagros polities, was imposed from without.

The eastward expansion of the Neo-Assyrian state, as we have seen

from the earlier historical narrative, may be divided into two distinct phases. The first of these (911-783 B.C.) initially saw the establishment of an Assyrian sphere of influence in its eastern marchlands from the Upper Zab headwaters in the north to the Diyala river in the south and as far east as the chaîne magistrale. By the end of the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) some eastern areas such as Gilzanu and Hubushkia had become tributaries while others such as Kurruri, Zamua and Namri were turned into provinces. Deeper penetration to the east began under Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) and continued with his successors, Shamshi-Adad V (824-811 B.C.) and Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.). The Assyrian kings extracted tribute from new polities and areas such as Mannea, Allabria, Parsua, Abdadani, Ellipi, Missi, Media, Araziash, Harhar, and Gizilbunda although whether in every case this was annual tribute implying vassalage is uncertain.

After a slump in Assyrian fortunes for nearly forty years the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 B.C.) inaugurated the second phase of Assyrian penetration of the Zagros. Under this king and Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) the Assyrian hold on the Zagros mountains was consolidated. Wherever possible, the Assyrian kings exercised their hegemony over the Zagros polities by vassalage. But such a policy was to have little relevance to the politically fragmented towns of the central Zagros. Here there was no overarching political structure or, at least, not one the Assyrians recognized. Whereas in dealing with established kingdoms such as Mannea, Allabria, Abdadani and Ellipi the Assyrians could exert their influence through the existing class structure of elite ruling families, with the smaller and less complex

kin-based Iranian chiefdoms of the Mahidasht/Kermanshah area no such internal divisions existed to be exploited. In such a situation, the most effective instrument of rule would have been direct government. Consequently, provincialization, the resettlement of foreign deportees, and the establishment of kāru towns to provide foci of political, military, and economic influence were all employed as devices to stabilize the region.

Two areas of the Zagros were of particular significance, the rich arable lands around the Urmia basin and those of the Mahidasht/Kermanshah valleys. The first of these was an early focus of Urartian provincialization and exploitation. Indeed, the coincidence of Urartu's rise as a major power and its exertion of control over the Urmia basin may well be causally linked in that the second made possible the first. The Urmia basin, given its geographical location, was never an area that the Assyrians could have hoped to have conquered and held. However, when the opportunity presented itself to destroy the basin's agricultural potential and cripple Urartian power, Sargon II seized it in his 8th palû campaign.

The Mahidasht/Kermanshah area in which Kar-Sharrukin was located was another matter. Here Assyrian access was reasonably direct and there was no major adjacent power to contest control. Although not as potentially rich as the Urmia basin, it was not insignificant and its agricultural yield possibly became an important supplement to the Assyrian economy. The progressive provincialization of the central Zagros is therefore seen to parallel the progressive urbanization and centralization of Assyria proper.

On a wider geographical scale, all of the Zagros polities were important sources of draught animals, beasts of burden, cavalry mounts, and meat on the hoof.⁶⁴ In addition to the economic exploitation of the mountain valleys, Assyria through its control of central-west Iran in particular was in a position to derive further benefits from long-range trade passing along the Great High Road.

As was pointed out earlier, the two ecological zones were not mutually interdependent to the same degree. The effects of a cessation of the flow of goods would have been far more catastrophic for Assyria than for the Zagros polities. Indeed, such a disruption of supplies to the critically vulnerable urbanized centre of the empire may have been directly instrumental in precipitating Assyria's dramatic collapse in the late seventh century B.C.⁶⁵ The value of this economic hypothesis is that it not only illuminates the pattern of Assyrian policies in the east but it goes far toward explaining the interplay between Assyria and Urartu in the Zagros, the sudden demise of Assyria itself, and finally the appearance and rapid expansion of the Median state. It is to the latter topic that I now turn.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. See the comments by Charles L. Redman, rev. of The Cult of Aššur, by G. Van Driel, American Antiquity, 37 (1972), pp. 554-555.
2. For example, J.N. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire, Studia Pohl, Series Maior, 3 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), hereafter Taxation and Conscription.
3. The following remarks are intended to clear up any terminological ambiguities before proceeding with the discussion. The term "process" is used to connote those hypothesized major geopolitical and economic imperatives underlying Neo-Assyrian political and economic needs. The need for secure borders and for the maintenance of a lowland-highland economic symbiosis are examples of "processes." "Continuities" and "patterns" refer to observable sequences of actions that appear to be interconnected. These may arise from long-term policies that seek to address themselves to fundamental processes or from policies of short-term duration that arise in response to specific circumstances. The term "symbiosis" implies a mutually, though not necessarily equally, beneficial relationship; on this see n. 5 below.
4. For the prehistoric period see especially K.V. Flannery, "Origins and ecological effects of early domestication in Iran and the Near East" in The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals, ed. P.J. Ucko and G.W. Dimbleby (London: Duckworth, 1969), pp. 73-100. For the historic periods see T.W. Beale, "Early Trade in Highland Iran: a view from a source area," World Archaeology, 5 (1973), pp. 133-148, and C. Kramer, "Pots and Peoples" in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr. (Malibu: Undena, 1977), pp. 91-112, and especially pp. 101ff.
5. There is some evidence, both historical and archaeological, that this economic exchange was generally initiated by the lowlanders of Mesopotamia. For example, Enmerkar of Uruk forced the highland state of Aratta to supply him with luxury goods including gold, silver, and lapis lazuli; see S.N. Kramer, History Begins at Sumer (New York: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 17-28. Archaeological evidence of the entrepreneurial activities of the lowland merchants is provided by the recent finds in Godin V and Tepe Yahya IVB; see H. Weiss and T.C. Young, Jr., "The Merchants of Susa. Godin V and Plateau-Lowland Relations in the Late Fourth Millennium B.C.," Iran, 13 (1975), pp. 1-17, and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "The Proto-Elamite Settlement at Tepe Yahya," Iran, 9 (1971), pp. 87-96. For a stimulating discussion, largely theoretical, of Mesopotamian economic relationships with the highlands, see P.L. Kohl, "The Archaeology of Trade," Dialectical Anthropology, 1 (1975), pp. 43-50 where Kohl advances the hypothesis that the Mesopotamian

economy of the third millennium B.C. "was so organized that it needed markets in which to dump its goods" (p. 48). Highland communities were drawn into a dialectical relationship with the lowland centres inducing internal structural change and promoting hierarchical organization in their own societies. The relationship thus became increasingly interdependent and the self-sufficiency of the highland societies was considerably reduced. See also I.J. Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style' of Hasanlu IVB," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr. (Malibu: Undena, 1977), pp. 371-386 and especially pp. 377ff.

6. The sociological aspects of the Assyrian annual campaign are tangential to this discussion and are therefore left aside. Some discussion of this topic may be found in the article by A.K. Grayson, "Studies in Neo-Assyrian History. The Ninth Century B.C.," Bib. Or., 33 (1976), pp. 134ff. where, however, the institutional context and socio-religious justification of the annual campaign seem to be mistaken as explanatory. Such intangibles as "national pride," "the egotism of the Assyrian king," "imperialism," and "custom" are certainly not to be neglected but they are hardly explanatory of the practice of mounting these military ventures, nor can they elucidate specific policies and objectives.
7. Grayson, p. 135.
8. For a discussion of the meanings of madattu, biltu, nāmurtu and tāmartu and changes of the meanings through time, see Grayson, Bib. Or.; 33 (1976), p. 136 and references cited in his n.21.
9. The provisioning of military campaigns along the route of march was a recognized part of the duties of a provincial governor and, at least sometimes, of tributaries as is evidenced by the following excerpt from Sargon's 8th palû campaign.

As my officers, the governors of Assyria, would have done, he [Ullūšunu of Mannea] had laid up stores of flour and wine for the feeding of my army (TCL III.53).

See also J.V. Kinnier Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972), p. 15.

10. Grayson's opinion that "plunder was . . . of paramount importance on an Assyrian campaign" cannot, at present, be substantiated by any quantitative evidence; see Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), p. 135. A priori, it would seem unlikely that plunder would be as important to Assyria in the long term as regular tribute payments.

11. Following Ashurbanipal's successful Arabian campaign, for example, camels sold in Assyria for less than one shekel of silver and innkeepers received camels, and even slaves, as gifts; Ashurbanipal, cylinder B, ARAB, II, pars. 870ff.
12. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, p. 217.
13. Sargon's 8th palû campaign against the Urartian provinces in Azerbaijan would seem to be an excellent example of this insofar as the primary purpose of the campaign was to destroy the area's agricultural potential.
14. See S. Smith, Early History of Assyria (London: Chatto and Windus, 1928), p. 267f. For a recent discussion of trade and Assyrian imperial policy, see L.D. Levine, "East-West Trade in the Late Iron Age: A View from the Zagros," in Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale . . . (Paris: CNRS, 1977), pp. 171-186.
15. Since most of our evidence on Assyrian imperialism comes from the annals with their litanies of wars and rebellions, it is usually assumed that Assyrian rule was onerous. It should not be overlooked that there were long periods when provinces and vassals maintained a relationship with Assyria which did not require constant police actions. It is feasible to argue that ethnic groups in the eastern mountains drawn into the Assyrian orbit were offered not only peaceful, stable conditions and trading and exchange opportunities but a lower level of taxation and interference than would perhaps have obtained in some political alternative. Such an hypothesis has been used to explain Gurkha supremacy over the Gurungs of Nepal; see A. Macfarlane, Resources and Population: A Study of the Gurungs of Nepal (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
16. This section has benefitted from a number of theoretical and applied discussions of trade and economic exchange but chiefly from G.A. Wright, Archaeology and Trade Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology, no. 49 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1974) and P.L. Kohl, "The Archaeology of Trade," Dialectical Anthropology, 1 (1975), pp. 43-50.
17. In discussing trade, one must differentiate between broad social needs and those of the agents of exchange and contact. In many trade situations, entrepreneurship is motivated not only by economic factors but also by the consciously goal-motivated behaviour of elites and specialized minorities. Archaeologically, recognized trade objects usually fall into the latter category. Those items are most easily identified for the same reason that they were sought in the first place--they are obviously foreign and thus enhance status. It is the impermanent commodities like foodstuffs, textiles and so forth, in short the broad social needs, that are hard to pinpoint archaeologically and are,

therefore, most often ignored in studies of the problem. See G.A. Wright, Archaeology and Trade (1974), p. 4.

18. See Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), p. 135, where he states:

It has sometimes been assumed that an aim of the Assyrian campaigns was the security of the caravan routes, but I think this theory must be put aside, at least for the foreseeable future, due to the lack of evidence. Nowhere do the Assyrian records allude to this; mercantile matters are totally absent from the royal inscriptions. Although trade may have benefitted from the royal campaigns, this was obviously an irrelevancy as far as the Assyrian motive for the expeditions were concerned.

Although Grayson is limiting his remarks to trade in relation to the annual campaign, insofar as the latter was the chief instrument and ultimate underpinning of Assyrian foreign policy, his opinion has wider repercussions. A relevant historical analogy can be found in the Crusades. Were we to limit ourselves to royal edicts and papal promulgations, we would understand little of the catalytic role of the Venetians and of their drive to secure control of the lucrative eastern trade emanating from Levantine and Egyptian ports; see Hilmar C. Krueger, "Economic aspects of expanding Europe," in Twelfth Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society, ed. Marshall Clagett, Gaines Post and Robert Reynolds (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), pp. 69-74.

19. See, for example, the private merchant's house uncovered at Nimrud outside the palace area; M.E.L. Mallowan, Nimrud and Its Remains, Vol. I (London: Collins, 1966), pp. 184ff. This individual seems to have been involved solely in local trade and money-lending. See also the discussion by W.F. Leemans, "Handel. Par. 11. Neuassyrisches Zeit," RLA, IV 2/3 (1973), pp. 87f. and Levine, in Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale . . . (1977), pp. 183-4.
20. Apart from Mallowan's limited and unreported foray into the domestic architecture at Nimrud and the German work at Assur, we know little archaeologically about the non-royal sectors of any Assyrian urban centre; see C. Preusser, Die Wohnhäuser in Assur. A. Die Baudenkmäler aus assyrischer Zeit (Berlin: Mann, 1954).
21. See Leemans, RLA, 4, 2/3 (1973), pp. 87f. and A.L. Oppenheim, "Essays on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," JCS, 21 (1969), pp. 236ff. During the 1952 excavations at Nimrud, four clay labels inscribed in Aramaic were discovered. These were evidently attached by string to consignments of goods; see A.R. Millard, "Some Aramaic Epigraphs," Iraq, 34 (1972), pp. 131-137 and references cited p. 131. See also the remarks of A.T.E. Olmstead, History of Assyria (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 506.

22. For Assyrian control of the timber trade in Tyre and Sidon during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, see H.W.F. Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon (New York: New American Library, 1962), p. 274. See also Ezekiel, 27.23 where Ashur is listed as an exporter of textiles to Tyre.
 23. ND 4301 + 4305; D.J. Wiseman, "A Fragmentary Inscription of Tiglath-pileser III from Nimrud," Iraq, 18 (1956), p. 126, rev. 16: bīt kārī ša (mat) Aššur . . ., and discussion on p. 129.
 24. Nimrud prism D, col. IV.46ff; see C.J. Gadd, "Inscribed prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud," Iraq, 16 (1954), pp. 179ff and the comments of A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 93f.
 25. R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), p. 25f. Similar rights were granted to Borsippa, Der, Nippur and Sippar.
 26. See ABL 186, 196, 233, 234, 310, 529, 532, 578, 702, 968, 992, 1058, 1273, 1317, 1371, 1404, and 1442. In addition see ND 2458. B. Parker, "Administrative tablets from the North-West Palace, Nimrud," Iraq, 23 (1961), p. 30 and J.N. Postgate, "More 'Assyrian Deeds and Documents'," Iraq, 32 (1970), p. 131.
- See also ABL 414 which is concerned with a proposal to rebuild a caravanserai (bīt mar-di-ti-e). An interesting letter is ABL 532 which could be understood to mean that the writer has taken a loan from a merchant to cover the tribute due from Barhalza which had not yet arrived; the servants of the king now owe the merchant. If this interpretation is correct, some merchants must have been extraordinarily wealthy. See also Tobit, I.13 where Tobit describes himself as one who travelled to Media as "a buyer of provisions" for Shalmaneser V. In some aspects (e.g. the succession of Shalmaneser V by Sennacherib without reference to Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II), the Book of Tobit is an unreliable historical source apparently originating in the Babylonian exile. However, it is possible that Tobit's role reflects accurately an historical situation wherein Israelites deported to Assyria were used as economic intermediaries in Assyrian-Median trade. See J.N. Birdsall, sub "Apocrypha" in The New Bible Dictionary, ed. J.D. Douglas (London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1962), p. 45.
27. G.A. Wright, Archaeology and Trade (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1974), pp. 10f.
 28. On nāmurtu as an "interview gift" that accompanied the personal payment of tribute, see A.K. Grayson, Bib. Or., 33 (1976), p. 136 and n.21. Although we have ascertained the occasion on which nāmurtu was presented, this is not to say that we fully understand the significance of the payments nor whether they were reciprocal.

29. On ports of trade see Karl Polanyi, "Ports of Trade in Early Societies," Journal of Economic History, 23 (1963), pp. 38-45.
30. See H. Tadmor, "Philistia under Assyrian rule," Biblical Archaeologist, 24 (1966), p. 98 and idem, "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and Its Aftermath," in Unity and Diversity, ed. H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), p. 38.
31. ARAB, II, par. 14.
32. Oppenheim argues strongly for a thriving international trade during the entire first millennium B.C.; see A.L. Oppenheim, "Essays on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," JCS, 21 (1969), pp. 236ff. and his remarks in Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1964), pp. 93f.
33. This nearly forty year slump in Assyrian fortunes can be explained as a result of basic contradictions in the internal organization and power structure of the empire. The problems were solved with the administrative reforms of Tiglath-pileser III, after which Assyria was capable of entering on a new expansionary phase. The temporary decline in Assyrian fortunes was, therefore, of internal origin and essentially unrelated to outside forces and circumstances although such factors undoubtedly aggravated the crisis.
34. On the first millennium B.C. sources of the items and raw materials listed in this paragraph see A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1964), pp. 236ff and N.B. Jankowska, "Some Questions of the Economy of the Assyrian Empire," in Ancient Mesopotamia, ed. I.M. Diakonoff (Moscow: Nauka, 1969), pp. 233-276; hereafter, Jankowska, Ancient Mesopotamia.
35. A.T.E. Olmstead, History of Assyria (Chicago, 1951), p. 159.
36. Olmstead, p. 244.
37. Olmstead, p. 654.
38. L.D. Levine, "East-West Trade in the Late Iron Age: A View from the Zagros," in Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale (Paris, 197), pp. 171-186. For a discussion of the economic concerns which account, at least in part, for differing Assyrian policies in North Syria and Phoenicia, see I.J. Winter, "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution," Iraq, 38 (1976), pp. 17ff.
39. The northern route from the plateau leads from Qazvin via Zanjan and Mianeh to the Urmia basin. From there, one may either turn north to eastern Turkey and the Van area or move to northern Assyria through a number of passes exiting to the west via Rowanduz. The southern route bifurcates in the Tehran area and runs south-west to Saveh and then more or less directly west via Hamadan and Kermanshah to the Diyala and northeastern Babylonia; see Levine, pp. 275ff.

40. See above, pp. 8f. Whatever the actual position of Gilzanu was, ancient Hasanlu was in close geographical proximity with Hubushkia and other Assyrian tributary states in the north-east of Iraq.
41. I.J. Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style' of Hasanlu IVB: A Study in Reciprocity," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr. (Malibu, 1977), pp. 377 ff.
42. One small bead from Burned Building II constitutes the sole evidence for lapis lazuli at Hasanlu IVB; oral communication from R.H. Dyson, Jr., June, 1976. It should be noted that the absence is perhaps all the more remarkable in view of the predilection of the ancient inhabitants of Hasanlu for lapis coloured objects in "Egyptian blue." On the latter as a substitute for lapis, see A.L. Oppenheim in A.L. Oppenheim et al., Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia (Corning: Corning Museum of Glass, 1970), p. 12.
43. A fairly recent survey of Urartian art lists objects occurring in a wide range of materials including frit, chalcedon, steatite, marble, topaz and clay but none in lapis; see M. Van Loon, Urartian Art (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1966), passim.
44. See above, p. 92, Ann. 12.3. The phrase used, na₄ uqnu hep šadišu (lapis lazuli hewn out of his mountain), clearly implies that we are dealing with genuine lapis.
45. See above, p. 93, Ann. 12.10. Tadmor, in Tadmor and Levine, Tiglath-Pileser III, translates these amounts into 30 and 50 tons respectively and, because the amount of lapis is therefore so phenomenal, he suggests that, in this case, the kiln-made substitute is meant. However, Tadmor's conversion ratio seems much too high. Using the figures supplied by J.N. Postgate, Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1975), p. 64, par. 6.2.0 we arrive at the following results:

conversion factors: heavy talent = 60.6 kg.
light talent = 30.3 kg.

300 bilat na₄ uqnu = 18,180 kg./40,400 lbs. (ca. 18 tons) Heavy.
= 9,090 kg./20,200 lbs. (ca. 9 tons) Light.

500 bilat nenzu siparri

= 30,300 kg./67,333 lbs. (ca. 30 tons) Heavy
= 15,150 kg./33,666 lbs. (ca. 15 tons) Light.

These are more reasonable figures which partially obviate the need to suggest that the lapis was not genuine. As Postgate points out, there are no safe criteria for determining which

talent was in use unless the text expressly identifies it; Postgate, p. 65. However, the heavy talent is more frequently attested and it is more likely that the higher of the two figures in each case is correct.

46. On the lapis trade in general, see G. Herrmann, "Lapis lazuli: the early phases of its trade," Iraq, 30 (1968), pp. 21-57.
47. For the stele of Ashurnasirpal II, see D.J. Wiseman, "A new stele of Aššur-našir-pal," Iraq, 14 (1952), p. 31, lines 68ff.
48. For Esarhaddon, see Nineveh prism A.VI.24 in R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (Graz, 1956), p. 55 and for the Sammeltext (K 2711) see p. 93, par. 64, Smlt, rev. 22.
49. For the Esarhaddon reference to the Median tribute of lapis, see Nineveh prism A.IV.38; Borger, p. 55.
50. For the Ashurbanipal reference, see ARAB, II, par. 915 concerning the rebuilding of the temple of Sin in Harran. ABL 1240 concerns the collection of lapis, but unfortunately we do not know the writer or addressee and it is, consequently, of limited value. Clearly, the collection of lapis in this case is an unpopular move with which the writer wishes to be disassociated. The tone in which he addresses the king shows that he must have been a vassal. The upshot of the letter is that lapis has become expensive and that any attempt to collect it on the writer's part would result in popular revolt. If the king still wishes to procure lapis, he should send his troops but the writer will make a show of disapproval and disassociate himself from the action. See A.L. Oppenheim in A.L. Oppenheim et al., Glass and Glassmaking (Corning, 1972), p. 12 and n.21 where he discusses the letter and suggests the king involved was either Sargon II or Ashurbanipal.
51. See, L. Vanden Berghe, "Le Luristan à l'age du fer. La nécropole de Kutal-i Gulgul. VII (1971) et VIII (1972) campagnes," Archeologia, 65 (1973), pp. 17-29. On the iron component in the Iron Age technology of Luristan and other western Iranian areas, see V. Pigott, "The Question of the Presence of Iron in the Iron I Period in Western Iran," in Mountains and Lowlands, ed. Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr., (Malibu, 1977), pp. 209-234. Iron artifacts appear in some number during the traditionally defined Iron II period and become dominant by Iron III. One cannot, at this stage, ascertain whether the iron is an object of trade from foreign (Assyrian ? Urartian ?) sources or whether it is a case of the polycentric exploitation of local hematite ores. Attention should be drawn, however, to the fact that much of the bronze and iron was being siphoned out of the local economy due to mortuary practices thus necessitating constant replacement. On the relationship between ritual practices and the economic sphere, see the comments by G.A. Wright, Archaeology

and Trade (Reading, Mass., 1974), p. 6, and the remarks on the prestige sphere in tribal economies by G. Dalton, Traditional Tribal and Peasant Economies, Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology, no. 1 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971), pp. 14ff.

52. On copper sources on the Iranian plateau, see T.A. Wertime, "A Metallurgical Expedition through the Persian Desert," Science, 159, no. 3818 (1968), pp. 927-935 and Th. Berthoud et al., "Recherches sur les sources du cuivre dans l'Iran ancien, premiers travaux," Iran, 14 (1976) pp. 150-151. Copper bearing ores occur in the Alvand alignment but there is no known evidence of ancient mining activity connected with them; see J.V. Harrison, "Minerals" in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. I: The Land of Iran, ed. W.B. Fisher (London: CUP, 1968), p. 515.
53. We have little direct information on the agricultural and pastoral subsistence base of Assyria or of how it developed and changed during the Neo-Assyrian period. That urbanization, local population growth and the importation of prisoners-of-war and craftsmen produced major changes in the economy cannot be questioned but determining the nature and extent of those changes and the degree to which the traditional economy was under stress is another matter. Oates' study of the relationship of Nimrud and its immediate agricultural hinterland suggests that from the very beginning of the city's urban phase in the ninth century B.C., the hinterland was incapable of supporting the city's population and that food must have been brought in from other, more distant, areas; see D. Oates, Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq (London: OUP, 1968), pp. 43ff.
54. If the subsistence economy was under stress during the Neo-Assyrian period, we might predict some of the changes that would have taken place. These would include (a) a shift towards more intensive agricultural regimes by the introduction of irrigation in an area that was traditionally exploited by dry-farm techniques, (b) a shift towards more efficient use of arable land by the displacement of pastoralism in favour of agriculture with pastoral activities being restricted to non-arable lands and supplemented by the importation of livestock from other areas of the empire and (c) a shift towards more centralized control and distribution of subsistence resources, both agricultural and pastoral. Evidence of the first shift may be seen in the irrigation projects of Ashurnasirpal II and Sennacherib at Nimrud and Nineveh respectively. Evidence of the second shift is harder to document. Nevertheless, it is apposite to note that although most of the Assyrian heartland is ideally suited for horse rearing and despite the obvious Assyrian need for horses, the Harran census and other documents show that the average Assyrian farm had no horses; see Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, p. 208 and Jankowska, Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 266. Evidence for the third shift towards the centralized control and distribution of

subsistence resources may be seen in documents such as ND 2791, a list of towns sending shipments of grain into the capital and the horse lists collected together by Postgate; for the first, see B. Parker, Iraq, 23 (1961), p. 54 and for the horse lists see Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, pp. 16ff. With a single exception, the horses in these lists all emanate from within the empire and are therefore definitely not tribute payments. It should be stressed that to adequately support the hypothesis outlined here, it would be desirable to have a great deal more documentation on the control and distribution of such resources so that one could demonstrate an increasing degree of centralized authority being brought to bear through time. For a view which runs counter to much of the above, see J. Reade, "Studies in Assyrian Geography," RA, 72 (1978), pp. 47-72 and 157-180 where he discounts the economic significance of the Nimrud and Nineveh canal systems and argues that, as far as food supplies were concerned, Assyria was self-sufficient (p. 175). While Reade's position cannot be dismissed, the contention that the Khosr canal was a luxury because it watered the king's orchards seems fallacious. There is no reason to believe that this was the canal's sole purpose and, in any case, Sennacherib boasts of his activities in digging canals, opening wells, and constructing irrigation ditches to increase the productivity of Assyria's "wide acres"; ARAB, II, par. 435.

55. For documentation, see Jankowska, Ancient Mesopotamia, passim.
56. Levine, TNAS, p. 18, ll. 20ff.
57. See, for example, the incredibly rich plunder from Musasir taken at the close of Sargon's 8th palu campaign; ARAB, II, pars. 172ff. Jankowska, on the basis of references in the annals, calculates that Musasir, in terms of gold deposits ranked first with Tyre, and ahead of such cities as Carchemish and Damascus; Jankowska, pp. 254ff. Another example that may be adduced is the tribute of Bel-šar-ušur of Kishesim in the central Zagros given to Sargon II during his 6th palu campaign. In addition to horses, cattle and sundry unspecified goods and property, the tribute included gold, silver, garments with trim, linen garments, weapons and other battle gear; see Levine, TNAS, p. 39, l. 38.
58. For the 9th palu stele of Tiglath-pileser III, see translation in text above, p. 96. It would be interesting to calculate from these figures the minimum size of breeding stock capable of sustaining this level of annual loss.
59. ARAB, II, par. 24. It is not clear whether the figure includes the oxen and cattle or relates only to horses and mules. Although the figures in Assyrian annals are often suspect, in view of the numbers of horses taken during Tiglath-pileser's 9th palu and considering that these 4,609 animals were taken from Mannea,

Ellipi, Allabria and forty-five Median city chiefs, the number may not be overinflated at all.

60. My thanks to T.C. Young, Jr. who brought to my attention the implications of the urgency of this exchange of correspondence and the short length of time that is clearly implied.
61. Šar-emuranni is named as the governor of Mazamua in the eponym lists for the year 712 B.C.; RLA, 2 (1938), pp. 426-427, Cal, l. 12 and Cd, l. 8. See also the translation of ABL 311 by Postgate who for "freeman" reads "an official under my charge"; J.N. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, pp. 274-275. For a similar letter relating to Assyrian concern over grain shortages in Mannea which are being checked for Sargon II, see ABL 342.
62. ND 2791.2; B. Parker, "Administrative tablets from the North-west Palace, Nimrud," Iraq, 23 (1961), p. 54. The argument for locating Hirite in the central-west Zagros is circuitous but reasonably sound. In ABL 312 Šar-emuranni is about to launch an attack on the city of Hirite. If this event took place during his governorship of Mazamua, then Hirite was obviously close to that province or actually in it. In the remainder of ABL 312, Šar-emuranni complains to Sargon that in the previous year's expedition "the son of Bel-iddina" did not provide him with support. This must be a reference to the son of Bel-apla-iddina who was king of Allabria on the border of Mazamua during Sargon's reign. Thus it would seem that the letter does indeed stem from Šar-emuranni's period of governorship over Mazamua. Since it is unlikely that the governor of an Assyrian province would enlist the support of a neighbouring tributary to put down a rebellion in an Assyrian provincial city, it follows that Hirite must be located further to the east and deeper into the Zagros and either in or not far removed from Allabria. Millard has connected the city of Hararatum in the east Tigris region with the city of Hirit mentioned in the Akitu Chronicle, l.14, but the latter city must evidently be located in the extreme south of Babylonia near the Elamite border; see Millard, Iraq, 26 (1964), p. 25, n. 52; Grayson, ABC, p. 257; and Röllig, RLA, 4, p. 418.
63. This is the sort of phenomenon one might expect given the hypothesized shift away from pastoralism in Assyria itself. It should be noted that the omission of references to grain or agricultural products in annalistic tribute lists does not necessarily militate against the argument advanced here. Tribute was taken in goods and materials that were at hand. Grain and other agricultural products were, of course, available only on a seasonal basis and at best only towards the end of the campaign season. Furthermore, they constituted a transportation problem that an army in the field could well do without. Livestock, on the other hand, could be driven back to Assyria with minimal input of labour. It may be that grain and agricultural produce were transported back to Assyria later in the year when the

campaign season had more or less ended and that they constituted part or all of the payment of tax (biltu).

On the question of transportation of produce out of the mountains, it is interesting to note that ABL 408 concerns a system of mule and donkey stations on routes into Mazamua. I have been unable to locate any further information on the nature and extent of this system but it was obviously set up for some transportational purpose, to carry goods into and out of the mountains.

64. Apart from the frequent references to livestock in lists of eastern tribute and plunder, see especially the so-called "horse reports," a group of twenty-seven letters from the Kuyunjik archive, which appear to be daily memoranda of the numbers and type of horses arriving in Nineveh; J.N. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, pp. 16ff. and cf. F.M. Fales, "Notes on some Nineveh Horse Lists," Assur, 1, no. 3 (1974), pp. 5-24. The nature of these contributions is never referred to, presumably because it was uniform and, therefore, required no comment. However, it was definitely not tribute (madattu). The letters show that horses and mules were being acquired from various eastern localities, including Lahiru, (Mat) Zamaa and Parsua, as well as other areas of the empire. The animals included cavalry horses (pethallu), yoke horses (sa niri) and mules. See also Nineveh 81-2-4-, 349, in Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, p. 21, no. 7.2.5, a document dated to 717 B.C. which designates some horses arriving from Mannea and another uncertain area as being "for meat."

65. The high degree of Assyria's vulnerability to any disruption of the flow of basic commodities from the rest of the empire is an argument invoked by Postgate to explain, at least in part, the rapid collapse of the country at the end of the seventh century B.C.; see Postgate, Taxation and Conscription, pp. 200f. Postgate is here thinking of the problem in the widest terms and not specifically in relation to the mountain-lowland economic symbiosis suggested here. It may be appropriate to add that the Median military role in the downfall of Assyria has possibly been overemphasized. The second half of the seventh century B.C. placed huge demands on the Assyrian army and continuous warfare with Babylonia had gone on for a decade before the first documented Median intrusion into the lowlands, their attack on Arraphu in 615 B.C. Their intervention may be seen as important in the sense that it came at a pivotal or critical point in the waning fortunes of Assyria but I would suggest that Median interdiction of the mountain-lowland economic exchange may have had an effect on Assyria far more crippling than their military intervention. Their attack on Nineveh in concert with the Neo-Babylonian army might therefore be viewed as the coup-de-grace to an empire that had economically imploded.

CHAPTER 11

KINSHIP TO KINGSHIP - THE RISE OF THE MEDIAN STATE

The Poet Wonders Whether the Course of Human History is a Progress, a Drama, a Retrogression, a Cycle, an Undulation, a Vortex, a Right- or Left-Handed Spiral, a mere Continuum, or What Have You. Certain Evidence is Brought Forward, but of an Ambiguous and Inconclusive Nature.

(Title to ch. 18, The Sat Weed Factor by John Barth)

In the preceding chapter discussion focussed on the objectives of Neo-Assyrian imperialism in the Zagros mountains, particularly in relation to the Iranian and Median enclaves of the central Zagros. It was argued that these objectives were fundamentally economic, promoting and systematizing a symbiosis between mountain and lowland that had become essential to the continued well-being of the increasingly centralized and urbanized lowland state. We have now reached a point in this study where we can profitably examine the effects of the intrusion of Assyria into the central Zagros on the local polities, addressing ourselves in particular to the problem of explaining the evolution of the Median state.

In describing the rulers of Iranian and Median polities as city chiefs rather than kings, the Assyrians recognized that they were dealing with societies fundamentally different from and less complex than their own form of socio-political organization. In previous assessments of the impact of Neo-Assyrian imperialism on Median society, little consideration has been paid to this factor. Consequently, at this

junction, I would like to discuss and defend the classification of "chiefdom" that has been used in this study to characterize these polities. The concluding portion of this chapter will then be devoted to outlining an hypothesis explaining the origins of the Median state. Much of the following discussion will be unavoidably theoretical and speculative, although arguably consistent with the available evidence. It is to be hoped that by guiding future archaeological and historical research, the discussion will prove to be of some heuristic value.

From the outset, it is important to establish that I will be dealing with two geographical sub-areas within the central Zagros. The first of these includes the mountain valleys from the Mahidasht eastwards to the Alvand alignment, that is comprising those areas under Assyrian provincialization or vassalage. Although no precise boundaries can be established for the Assyrian provinces in the central Zagros, it is assumed that they were clustered around the general region of Kermanshah and that Godin Tepe in the Kangavar Valley, and possibly also Tepe Nush-i Jan in the Malayer area, both considerably further east, lay in the area of vassalage. The second sub-area under scrutiny lies outside of the Assyrian orbit to the east of the Alvand alignment. Here, centred on Ecbatana (Hamadan), the Median state had its origins. It follows that if this reconstruction of the limits of Assyrian imperialism is basically correct, Assyrian influence on these areas, and the provinces, vassals, and independent Median chiefdoms in them, must have differed in both quantity and quality.

The importance of making these distinctions is further emphasized when we consider the nature of the evidence at our disposal.

Again, if the reconstruction be allowed, the Assyrian historical sources provide us with information only on the area west of the Alvand, while Herodotus is the sole source for developments to the east. A similar dichotomy exists in the archaeological evidence. East of the Alvand not a single Iron Age site has been excavated and only very limited survey work has been done. In contrast, archaeological surveys in varying degrees of intensity have been conducted in a number of mountain valleys west of the Alvand and excavations have been carried out at Godin Tepe, Tepe Nush-i Jan and Baba Jan Tepe. With these prefatory remarks, we can turn now to the problem of "chiefdoms."

Recent work in political anthropology has given rise to a number of models of socio-political evolution, most notably those of Service and Fried, that have proved useful in the analysis of pre-historic social change and pristine state formation in the Near East and elsewhere.² Their relevance to socio-political evolution and secondary state formation in the historic periods of the Near East has largely gone unrecognized.³ As the concepts may therefore be unfamiliar in the context of Neo-Assyrian studies, some brief discussion of them seems mandatory. Specifically, I will focus on the organizational structure of chiefdoms and the manner in which some evolve into states.

As a stage in general cultural evolution, chiefdoms frequently emerge in environmental situations that favour economic specialization and the consequent need for product redistribution. Thus they are commonly a feature of mountainous environments where such variables as altitude, rainfall, ground cover, pedological and

hydrological factors, and the differential distribution of raw materials result in a mosaic of fairly discrete ecological zones in close proximity to each other. The centralized redistribution of products in such a situation leads to increased efficiency of production, a more varied diet and higher standard of living, as well as denser levels of population and a more integrated society. The effectiveness of the system ensures its survival and growth.

Resulting from the economic imperatives of regional specialization and centralized redistribution, chiefdoms exhibit organizational characteristics that distinguish them from less complex modes of social integration, such as bands and tribes. Chiefdoms are essentially inegalitarian, hierarchically organized societies with a permanent central agency of control, the office of chief. At their inception, chiefdoms are a well-developed form of what Fried has called a "ranked society," that is, a society in which access to positions of status and authority is limited. Normally rules of descent, such as that of primogeniture, governs access to such positions, particularly that of the chief. In a simple chiefdom these positions carry enhanced power and privilege but little exploitative economic power or genuine political power. The basis of authority is familial, being underpinned by enculturation and internalized sanctions. Thus there is no privileged access to coercive force. The chief, in particular, maintains status by setting a personal example of industriousness and by adhering to the principles of reciprocity. Consequently, at least in the early stages of development, a chiefdom may not display any marked differences in material wealth between those of rank and other members of

the society. The implications of this for archaeologists are obvious.

The functions of the chief include the coordination of regional specialization, the allocation of basic resources, and the redistribution of the products of the regional economy.⁴ He is also able to plan, organize and deploy public labour in cooperative projects. Virtually all aspects of life, be they economic, social, political, or religious, require his active participation. However,

When chieftainship becomes a permanent office in the structure of society, social inequality becomes characteristic of the society, followed finally in inequality in consumption.⁵

Sumptuary rules regulating dress, ornamentation, etiquette, food, diversions and ritual positions, for example, are commonly employed to emphasize and legitimize the distinctiveness of the office of chief.

In developed chiefdoms, this inequality of consumption is often further reflected in craft or occupational specialization. As the central redistributor in control of the magazines, the chief can support full-time specialists such as potters, weavers, metalworkers, and even religious functionaries whose sole or main purpose is to produce for, or otherwise serve, his household.

Because of the effectiveness of their redistributive economies and hierarchical social order, chiefdoms normally enjoy a competitive advantage over neighbouring societies with less well-developed methods of social and economic integration. Particularly in situations where neighbouring groups are similar in language and culture, chiefdoms tend to grow by a process of accretion as others perceive the benefits of participating in the larger redistributive system. Economic intensification, especially when coupled with

territorial expansion through the incorporation of neighbouring economies, will sooner or later strain traditional methods of economic and socio-political regulation.

In order to preserve its integrity and avoid political and economic fragmentation, a chiefdom under such strains will be forced into institutional change involving the creation of a second level of decision-making below the chief.⁶ Through a complex series of interactions, the increasing vertical specialization of the administrative hierarchy, increasing inequality of consumption and control of basic resources by a privileged minority, and the imperatives of governing a larger and inevitably more complex society lead to the appearance of institutionalized social stratification or class society, formal statements of legal principles, and an elite monopoly of coercive force to ensure compliance -- in short, phenomena associated with appearance of state society.

Having established some of the basic characteristics of chiefdoms and the processes by which they may evolve into states, we can now proceed with an examination of the historical and archaeological data in order to determine the relevance of this analytical approach to the Iranian polities of the Zagros. There is no overwhelming evidence that Iranian chiefs held permanent, hereditary positions. Nevertheless, some support can be marshalled in favour of the proposition. Of the four Iranian chiefs who rendered tribute to Sargon II in his 6th palu we know that one of them, Karakka of Uriyaki/Urikaya, was succeeded by his son, later deposed by the Assyrians.⁸ In addition, the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon seem to presuppose

permanent and hereditary office among the Iranian chiefs with whom they were concluded, being binding on the individual, his sons, and grandsons.⁹

The archaeological evidence is more compelling. Both architectural complexes at Godin Tepe and Tepe Nush-i Jan reflect in their organization and appointments the existence of a permanent central authority vested in a single individual. Such complexes are incompatible with systems of shifting authority on a charismatic or elected basis.¹⁰

The problem of identifying enhanced power and privilege can only be attacked from a diachronic perspective and the historical sources fail to yield pertinent evidence. However, the increasing elaboration of the architectural complexes at Godin and Nush-i Jan strongly supports the proposition that the power and privileges of at least some chiefs were being augmented. In particular, both complexes clearly demonstrate the chiefs' abilities to deploy public labour in construction activities. A number of other inferences of this nature may be derived from the archaeological data. Firstly, both sites are fortified and thus obviously required a permanent guard force to man the entrances and guard towers.¹¹ Secondly, the fine ware pottery at Godin Tepe reaches a standard of technical excellence that is, in all likelihood, the result of full-time craft specialization. Thirdly, the association of religious installations with a central authority, as evidenced in the case of Nush-i Jan Tepe, is yet another characteristic of advanced chiefdoms.¹²

The redistributive power of Iranian chiefs is implicitly suggested by the Assyrian tribute system which held them responsible as individuals for tribute payment. Once again, however, the strongest evidence is archaeological in nature. Both Godin Tepe and Tepe Nush-i Jan have extensive storage facilities which were expanded through time. Although evidence of the contents of these magazines is lacking, their capacity would seem grossly to exceed the domestic requirements of the residents of the complexes.¹³

On a wider scale, the Kangavar Valley survey data, as we have seen, tend to confirm the central importance of Godin in terms of settlement hierarchy, but there is a need for more, and finer-grained survey data before we can hope to reconstruct settlement patterns with assurance and to identify networks that might be equated with chiefdoms.¹⁴

While acknowledging that the evidence is not entirely conclusive, it seems reasonable to assume as a working hypothesis that the Iranian and Median polities encountered by the Neo-Assyrians in the central Zagros were organized at the level of chiefdoms. This is not to say, however, that all of these polities would have been of the same size and complexity, and that Godin Tepe and Tepe Nush-i Jan are therefore representative. Micro-environmental factors, the differential distribution of raw materials and natural resources as well as strategic location would all have determined to some degree or other the potential of the individual polity.¹⁵

While there is no reason seriously to doubt that forms of socio-political organization among Median groups east of the Alvand

alignment were radically different from those of the western Iranians and Medes, strictly speaking all of the evidence adduced above applies only to the latter. The archaeological and historical evidence relating to the eastern Medes is too meagre to be of any real assistance.¹⁶ Since, however, the Median state began in Ecbatana and ethnohistorical records support the contention that all primitive states are preceded by chiefdoms, I will assume as a working hypothesis that this was also the case for the origins of the Median state. The phenomenon under investigation, therefore, is the transition from a ranked society or chiefdom to a stratified society or state.

The hypothesis advanced here is that the single most important causal factor stimulating the development of Median society from the level of a simple kin-based chiefdom to a more complex stratified nation-state was the intrusion of the superordinate Assyrian state with its manifold social and economic effects. The two phenomena are understood to be causally connected and not coincidental.

That the Median state had its inception in an area beyond the orbit of Assyrian provincialization and vassalage does not detract from the hypothesis above. The intrusion of Assyria into the central Zagros unquestionably had a ripple effect in contiguous areas, particularly in economic terms. Nevertheless, it is essential that any hypothesis purporting to explain the rise of the Median state not only address itself to delineating the causal relationships between the superordinate state and the less complex polity involved, but should also be able to explain why the state evolved in Ecbatana (Hamadan) and not elsewhere in the central Zagros.

It will be argued that economic factors involving pastoral specialization and the control of both regional exchange and long distance trade along with strategic location and political circumstances are fundamental to an understanding of the unique advantages that led to state formation in the Hamadan plain.

Cross-cultural studies of secondary state formation have established a number of ways in which superordinate states can directly or indirectly subvert simpler societies and produce conditions conducive to the emergence of stratification and state society.¹⁷ Direct methods include, most importantly, the creation of an administrative system organizing the simpler society on a basis acceptable to the superordinate state, the extension of the complex society's legal definitions of property to the simpler society, and the introduction of all-purpose money and wage labour.

Indirect methods of promoting stratification in a simpler society are generally economic and involve stimulating the subordinate society into overproduction by such devices as exacting tribute, establishing an external market for local products and importing commodities that cannot be produced in the simpler society. Another situation that can encourage the emergence of stratification is that in which an important trade route traverses territory occupied by the simpler society but beyond the policing action of the superordinate state. The former can profit from its ability to interdict trade caravans or act as a middleman.

It will be readily apparent that most of the causal factors listed above are of relevance to the situation in the Neo-Assyrian

Zagros while the applicability of others must remain sub judice for lack of evidence. In the following discussion, I will consider the differential effects of the intrusion of Assyria into the central Zagros and the operation of these factors in terms of relationships firstly with the provincialized area, then with the vassal Median chiefdoms further to the east, and finally with those Medes who lay behind the Alvand alignment.¹⁸

The Provincial Area

The provincial administrations established by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II in Parsua, Kishesim and Harhar, although not perfect microcosms of Assyrian society, in effect were transplants into the body of Iranian society of stratified systems of socio-political organization. While the nature and degree of change produced in the provincial area cannot at present be determined, the political reformation could not have taken place in a vacuum. Fried states:

It can be shown, for example, that states that in their expansion overrun simpler societies have grave problems in effectively exploiting the areas occupied by those societies, or their labour potential, unless they make far reaching changes in the social organization they encounter.¹⁹

It should be expected, therefore, that much more was involved than "parachuting" in an administrative bureaucracy and an elite class represented by the Assyrian governor and his household. Along with provincialization would have come Assyrian ideas of property rights and other legal concepts. The land of the province, for example, was now held by the Assyrian governor as fiduciary for the Assyrian king. The administration was involved in directing at least some of the agricultural activities in the provinces, in construction which must

have required local labour, and in monitoring the economic system to ensure payment of tribute and taxation.²⁰ A myriad of other factors would have combined to force or encourage change in local Iranian society. Territoriality, in the form of arbitrarily drawn provincial boundaries, now defined the individual's legal relationship to ultimate authority, cross-cutting and consequently tending to undermine previous patterns based on kinship. The resettlement of deportees, such as the Israelites, from mature state organizations, interference with traditional methods of government, and the establishment of the kāru towns as centres of mercantile activity and political control must all have had profound effects on the framework of Iranian society.²¹

In the absence of any good body of evidence bearing on conditions within the central Zagros provinces, it is difficult to discuss these factors and their effects in any but theoretical terms and dangerous to extrapolate too far. (The direct intervention of a superordinate state will sometimes have only limited effect on a simpler society when the imposed system is a facade behind which the traditional methods of social organization may continue to be maintained. It would seem, for example, that some chieftains in the provincial areas were allowed to continue in office, albeit at the behest of the Assyrian governor.²²

In any event, theoretically the pervasive Assyrian presence in the provincial areas would have promoted concepts of private ownership, of privileged access to basic resources, of the separation of labour and subsistence activities, and of stratified society.

The degree to which this process was successful in undermining

traditional forms of socio-political and economic organization cannot at present be determined, but it cannot be doubted that in several generations of direct Assyrian rule substantial inroads must have been made. The crucial factor to recognize for our purposes here is that the very same Assyrian presence that would have eroded traditional forms of social organization would also have precluded the formation of an indigenous elite with sufficient political and economic control to serve as a focus for an emergent state. By the time the Assyrians withdrew, a viable state organization had been long established east of the Alvand.

The Vassal Area

Political and economic relationships between the Assyrians and the vassal Median chiefdoms beyond the pale of provincial settlement were of a different order. Here the major imposition was the exaction of annual tribute and Assyrian influence was more indirect. We can, however, consider the probable effects of tribute payment and, to this end, certain specifics should be established straight off.

Firstly, as argued elsewhere in this study, we must assume that the Assyrians normally exploited the resources of provincial and tributary areas in a rational manner. Self-interest would have kept them from crippling by excessive demands agricultural and pastoral economies on which they had formed a dependence. Secondly, there is a growing consensus among anthropologists that agricultural and pastoral societies do not normally maintain a subsistence surplus of produce or livestock.²³ Consequently, where effective resistance is impossible and the annual imposts of a superordinate state must be

met, only two strategies present themselves. Least likely is that of maintaining previous levels of production and absorbing the economic impact of tribute payment in the form of a lower standard of living. Such a strategy is probable only in the situation where the tributary polity is already operating close to the maximum carrying capacity of its environment. The second strategy is that of moving to over-production to meet the additional demand while maintaining the pre-existing standard of living.

Therefore it is not as paradoxical as it might at first seem to argue that the primary effect of imposing annual tribute would be to stimulate the economy of the tributary polity. In a chiefdom we would expect that, as a consequence of such economic stimulation, the power of the chief, the central allocator and redistributor of the products of the economy, would be augmented in a number of ways.

In the stimulated economy a greater volume of products would be channelled through the hands of the chief affording greater economic power. Disputes over farming, pasturage and water rights which might be expected to increase as the local economy adjusted to the additional demands would require greater input from the chief as arbitrator.²⁴ Finally, the relationship of the chieftain to his own people would be subtly altered; former systems of social control, while not necessarily supplanted, would now be backed by the ever-present threat of Assyrian punitive expeditions. The chief's redistributive role, inasmuch as it now incorporated his new role as the intermediary between his own people and the Assyrian state responsible for the collection and payment of tribute, assumed a potential for

coercion that had not previously existed.

Other more general effects are also to be expected in a situation of economic intensification in a group of chiefdoms. Those polities with more arable land, more productive pasture, more reliable sources of water and proximity to routes of local and long-distance trade would have had a competitive advantage over smaller, less well-endowed chiefdoms. Intensification would be expected to bring more inter-group disputes between neighbouring polities over access to basic resources. However these disputes were resolved, by conquest or cooperation, the chieftain of the dominant polity would be the prime benefactor.

In short, the imposition of tribute would have touched off a chain reaction of effects in the vassal chiefdoms that would have encouraged hierarchical tendencies both within individual polities and among the various chiefdoms affected. The Godin Tepe and Tepe Nush-i Jan architectural complexes are probably best understood in this light as strategically located chiefdoms that were able to capitalize on the new situation of economic intensification and competition. Had this situation been allowed to continue unchecked, the conditions necessary for state formation may well have evolved in the vassal area. However, it would not have been in Assyrian interests to have allowed any one polity to have acquired too much power and their involvement in settling disputes between rival vassal chiefdoms is a matter of record.²⁵

The Median Polities East of the Alvand

The situation beyond the Alvand alignment would have been different again. Here we have hypothesized the existence of chiefdoms similar to those in the mountain valleys to the west but with the important distinction that they were free of Assyrian domination or imposts. Two additional factors require consideration before we outline an hypothesis of state origins in the Hamadan area. The first of these concerns the environmental differences between the Hamadan plain and the mountain valleys west of the Alvand, while the second factor involves the strategic location of Hamadan itself.²⁶

The wide flat plains country east of the Alvand lies at an altitude of approximately 6,000 feet above sea level, an average of 2,000 feet higher than the alluvial valleys of the central Zagros to the west. Until recently traditional strategies of agricultural and pastoral specialization divided the Hamadan plain into three zones moving progressively east from the Alvand alignment. Intensive garden and orchard cultivation occupied a relatively narrow strip of arable land flanking the Alvand and watered by run-off streams from the mountain chain above. In the wide plains beyond, topography, soil and precipitation are adequate for grain cultivation. Finally, even further east where the terrain is more broken up and levels of precipitation lower, large herds of sheep, goats and horses were once pastured. The grazing potential of the Hamadan plain was famous throughout the ancient world at least as early as the Achaemenid period.²⁷

In contrast, the central Zagros valleys are defined by high, parallel and tightly-packed fold structures of Cretaceous limestone and consequently assume elongated elliptical shapes with a north-west/south-east strike. The valley floors are alluvial in origin and are abruptly bordered to the east and west by steeply rising ridges. The land enclosed is therefore prime arable for the most part but extensive areas best suited to horse pastoralism are lacking. On the other hand, sheep and goat pastoralism has long been an important subsistence strategy in the area, being carried out either on surrounding hill-slopes during the crop-growing season with subsequent grazing on the valley floor after harvesting or by summer transhumance exploiting Alpine pasture on high-level plateaus, particularly in northern Luristan.

The second factor is that of the location of Hamadan itself. Prior to the establishment in the early twentieth century of the modern east-west road through the Shah Pass slightly east-north-east of Hamadan, the only route across the Alvand suitable for major traffic lay immediately east of the city following a line across the col at Ganj Nameh between the Kuh-i Daim and the Kuh-i Alvand. From there it descended into the Kangavar Valley down the Khorram Rud passing close to Godin Tepe. Hamadan therefore lies at the point of greatest restriction along the major east-west route through the central Zagros and at a node of routes to north-west and south-west Iran.

Recent work in theoretical economic geography, refining Walter Christaller's central-place theory, has particular relevance

to an understanding of the unique locational and functional characteristics of Hamadan. At the heart of Christaller's thesis lies the assertion that cities evolve as a response to the need to do tasks best performed at a central location.²⁸ In an idealized format, these central places lie at the centre of a compact hexagonal, circular or square service area within a relatively homogenous region and are characterized principally by local trade connections. One class of cities does not, however, correspond to this pattern insofar as they are located eccentrically at one end of their service area.

These "gateway cities" share certain features.²⁹ They develop along or near economic shear lines between areas of differing economic intensities or types of production. They have an elongated fan-shaped service area extending outward away from the national core area within which the economic and administrative life of the polity is concentrated; in Christallerian terms they enjoy a notably extended maximum range to one side. The entrance to the service area is invariably restricted and the gateway city commands access, being located on a site of considerable transportational significance such as at a bulk-breaking point or at a node of lines of transportation. In areas where population is dispersed, transportation is difficult or underdeveloped, and where there is a strong external economic orientation, the individual communities in the service area or hinterland are usually linked to the gateway city through a dendritic market network.

Such a network

is the most efficient structure to connect the gateway community with its hinterland. Since the movement of goods in primitive economic systems incurs high and inflexible transportation costs, site location is important to hold transportation costs to a minimum.³⁰

Dendritic market networks are organized hierarchically but lack the strong horizontal connections between centres of equivalent rank that one finds in a typical central-place system. A study of the movement of commodities through dendritic systems shows that

collecting points at different levels of the system link to several smaller places, but to only one major high-level center. [Commodity] flows are direct, linking levels of hierarchies, but not the local systems that surround each level of the hierarchy which eliminates competition among high-level markets for a producing hinterland. Thus while many places are connected, they connect only to one price-setting market.³¹

In the absence of a price-setting market per se, control of resources can be thought of as roughly analogous. Although local exchange is almost always an important factor in their economic life, gateway cities are characterized chiefly by long-distance trade which creates the dendritic hinterland and their dominant hierarchical position within it.

The utility of this hypothesis in elucidating the origins and growth of a number of cities in ancient and more recent history has been demonstrated. It is suggested here that the hypothesis of gateway cities may also be relevant to the origins and growth of Ecbatana. The latter corresponds to some of the characteristics that one would expect of gateway cities. It lay on an economic shear line controlling a restricted entrance to the central Zagros mountain valleys and evidence has already been adduced to support the contention that a long-distance trade in lapis lazuli, probably copper and perhaps other materials of eastern origin was being conducted along the High Road in late Neo-Assyrian times. Ecbatana, by virtue of its location, would have had a considerable advantage over any potential

competitors in its ability to monopolize control over and profit from the east-west flow of goods which, of necessity, passed through its territory.

It would be wrong to assume that such a long-distance trade in eastern goods necessarily postdated and was a direct consequence of the economic intrusion of Neo-Assyria into the central Zagros. It is possible to construct a model in which the trade and the network could be generated by the local demand of Zagros chiefdoms for prestige goods.³² Differential access to prestige goods was an important factor in the definition of rank-status positions within most pre-state societies. Typically in such situations scarce prestige items are moved over long distances by a series of trading partner exchanges, such exchanges taking place between headmen or chiefs of different lineage groups who could distribute the goods as they pleased throughout their individual lineage group. Patterns of exchange like this are forerunners of gateway systems in that the dendritic network is already implicit in the operation of exchanges between the headmen of distinct regional lineages. The exertion of control over the flow of the scarce resources by a strategically situated chiefdom can rapidly elevate it to a pre-eminent economic position and, if the process is continued and intensified, to the status of a predatory state.

It is perfectly feasible, therefore, that long-distance trade in prestige items of eastern origin and the functioning of Ecbatana as a gateway community were already in operation before the Neo-Assyrian penetration of the Zagros mountains. A critical test of

this hypothesis would involve a sophisticated analysis of settlement patterns and the distribution of prestige items in the central Zagros prior to the first known Assyrian incursion in the late ninth century B.C. in order to determine whether or not a dendritic exchange network existed. Should the hypothesis be disproved, we would be obliged to assume that the eastern long-distance trade arose largely in response to Assyrian demands.

Even if the system does prove to pre-date Assyrian involvement in the Zagros, there can be little doubt that Assyrian economic activities, which in the broadest sense includes the exaction of tribute and tax, provided a major stimulus to that trade.³³ In this situation we have an example of one of Fried's models of the indirect inducement of stratification by a superordinate state. The examples of organization presented by Assyrian outposts in the provincial area, the availability of western commodities which could not be produced in the Zagros, the ability of the chiefdom centred on Ecbatana to control the movement of eastern goods and the inability of the Assyrians to penetrate the Alvand alignment may have combined to lay the basis for the emergence of stratification within the Hamadan area.

To conclude, there can be no doubt that long-distance trade in goods of eastern origin was passing through the Hamadan area. The presence of large quantities of lapis lazuli in the central Zagros is attested by the Neo-Assyrian sources and it could not have got there by any other means. The questions that remain to be resolved by future archaeological and historical research concern the regularity, volume, and methods of organization of this trade as well as the nature

of the goods being exchanged.

If little hard evidence can be brought to bear on the problem of long-distance trade in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros, even less is available for regional exchange. Given the environmental differences described above between the mountain valleys of the central Zagros and the high plateau east of the Alvand, it seems reasonable to argue that prior to the disequilibrating Neo-Assyrian intrusion there would have been a symbiosis in the exchange of subsistence products among the multiple co-existing pre-state systems of the central Zagros.

While the two ecological zones would have been capable of producing much the same range of agricultural and pastoral products, they would have done so with differing degrees of efficiency. In particular, I wish to focus on the question of horse pastoralism for two reasons. Firstly, horses were one of the resources of the central Zagros that were of considerable importance to the Assyrians. Secondly, it is arguable that in the area of horse pastoralism, the differences between these two ecological zones are maximized.

Although horses can be raised in a wide variety of environmental circumstances, a key factor in successful large scale horse rearing is the availability of extensive tracts of reasonably flat land with adequate grazing. Such conditions can be met in the Hamadan plain where, as we have seen, a broad belt of land to the east can be best exploited in a pre-mechanized economy by pastoralism. No correspondingly extensive areas of flat land best suited to pastoralism exist in the mountain valleys to the west of the Alvand. To be sure, pastoralism has long been an important strategy in the subsistence of

these mountain valleys but the focus has been on sheep and goats which can be grazed on mountain slopes and hillsides, areas that cannot be usefully brought under cultivation. Only after harvests have been gathered in are sheep and goats allowed to graze on prime arable.

This is not to deny that horses could have been reared in the mountain valleys. What we are concerned with here is the scale of production. To have successfully conducted large-scale horse rearing in the valleys would have meant surrendering large areas of arable land which would have been more efficiently exploited by agriculture. It is likely therefore that horse pastoralism would have been an early focus of regional exchange.

Reference has already been made to the large numbers of horses being taken by the Assyrians from Iranian vassals. The 9th palu stele of Tiglath-pileser III, although incomplete, lists a minimum of 1,600 horses taken as ordinary tribute in one campaign. Since tribute was a fixed, regular payment we may assume that this was not an isolated event.³⁴ It is important to stress that an annual tribute of these dimensions presupposes a breeding stock of many thousands of horses and that these in turn would require extensive areas of grazing land. While it remains a possibility that horses in these numbers were being reared by the Iranian vassals in the mountain valleys west of the Alvand, I wish to suggest as an alternative hypothesis that a major source of horses was the Hamadan plain.

The solution that may have evolved in response to the imposition of Assyrian tribute might have been a strategy of agricultural overproduction in the vassal area with agricultural "surpluses"

being exchanged for horses from the Hamadan plain in order to satisfy

Assyrian demands. For the Assyrians the important factor would have been that their Iranian vassals had access to a source of horses, just as they had access to a source of lapis. In consequence, regional exchange between the Hamadan area and the mountain valleys to the west would have been augmented and a chiefdom in control of the Alvand passes would have been in a position to profit handsomely. If this hypothesis has any validity, the emergence of large-scale specialized animal husbandry in the Hamadan plain during the eighth-seventh centuries B.C. may have provided the pressure for the reorganization of local production, emphasizing private ownership, and subverting usufructory pasturage rights with privileged control.³⁵ Factors such as these would have helped to establish the basis for social stratification and state origins.

Without a more intimate knowledge of the socio-political and economic structure of the polity or polities in control of the Hamadan plain, it is difficult to predict what the effects of intensified regional exchange and long-distance trade would have been.³⁶ Gregory Johnson's recent monograph on primary state formation in southwest Iran during the early Uruk period suggests a possible avenue of research.³⁷ Johnson defines a state from the systems viewpoint as a "society having a decision-making organization of minimally three hierarchical levels" and eschews explanations of state formation that depend on a single variable.³⁸ Instead, he argues:

. . . that primary state development involves overloading the decision-making organization of a chiefdom. Since no single factor such as increasing irrigation, population, warfare, local exchange, or whatever can be shown to have led to state development, it would appear that multiple

sources of information input are required to force basic organizational changes at this level.³⁹

Although Johnson is expressly concerned with primary, as opposed to secondary state formation, I see no valid objection to applying this approach to the evolution of the Median state. In this light, I would argue that it was not intensified regional exchange, intensified long-distance trade, the availability of goods that could not be produced in Media, or the examples of organization presented by Assyrian outposts that promoted state formation in the Hamadan area but the combination of all of these factors. Nor did the state spring into existence fully-fledged; it was the culmination of a trend that began before, and continued after Deioces. In this regard, the military innovations of Cyaxares assume a significance transcending martial expediency; the reorganization of the Median army away from the "tribal horde" to groups of functional units surely reflects the erosion of loyalties based on kinship in face of the increasing entrenchment of kingship.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. While it is likely that the Iranians of the Assyrian provinces in the Kermanshah area were Medes, strictly speaking, there is no corroborating evidence. For my sceptical view on the equation of Parsua with the Persians, see p. 276 above. In the following discussion, the neutral term "Iranian" is used wherever appropriate. An identification between the Medes and the complexes at Godin II and Nush-i Jan can scarcely be doubted. Some uncertainty still surrounds Baba Jan III which may have been Median or some associated Iranian group and I have purposely excluded it from the following discussion.
2. The synthetic studies of Fried and Service advance different but parallel models of socio-cultural evolution. Fried's categories (egalitarian, ranked, stratified, and state societies) are based on an analysis of the criteria used to establish differential status in society. Service's analysis (bands, tribes, chiefdoms, states) focusses on overall community organization. There is, consequently, no exact correspondence between the divisions of the two schemes. Chiefdoms, for example, may take on some of the characteristics of a stratified society in their most developed form while remnants of tribal organization in the form of sodalities and similar phenomena may persist under state organization. What is important is the dominant form of socio-political organization. Relevant literature includes M.H. Fried, "On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State," in Readings in Anthropology, Vol. II: Cultural Anthropology, ed. M.H. Fried (New York: Crowell, 1968), pp. 462-478; M.H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society (New York: Random House, 1967), especially pp. 109ff.; E.R. Service, Primitive Social Organization (New York: Random House, 1962); and E.R. Service, Origins of the State and Civilization (New York: Norton, 1975). A useful summary discussion of the main concepts may be found in Charles L. Redman, The Rise of Civilization (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1978), pp. 201ff. All of the points made in the following discussion are from either Fried or Service and detailed annotation has therefore been avoided except where necessary.
3. The distinction between pristine and secondary states has been succinctly stated by Fried who explains that:
 By the former term [pristine] is meant a state that has developed sui generis out of purely local conditions. No previous state, with its acculturative pressures, can be discerned in the background of a pristine state. The secondary state, on the other hand, is pushed by one means or another toward a higher form of organization by an external power which has already been raised to statehood. M.H. Fried, "On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State," in Readings in Anthropology, Vol. II (1968), pp. 476-477.

4. Basic resources are those resources such as arable land, pasturage, water rights, raw materials and the like that, depending on the technological level and environmental circumstances of the society in question, are essential to subsistence. The term is Fried's; see idem, The Evolution of Political Society (1967), p. 186.
5. E.R. Service, Primitive Social Organization (1962), pp. 148f.
6. See the discussion by G.A. Johnson, Local Exchange and Early State Development in Southwestern Iran (Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan), pp. 1ff.
7. M.H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society (1967), pp. 235ff.
8. See ABL, 713. The other chiefs are Ushra of Kanzabakani, Satarbanu of Barikanu, and Zardukka of Harzianu; see Levine, TNAS, p. 42, 11.55-62 and cf. TCL III.39.
9. For the vassal treaties, see Wiseman, Iraq, 20 (1958), pp. 1ff.
10. The Godin and Nush-i Jan structures are both domestic and ceremonial in function. The domestic quarters at both sites are relatively restricted in area and probably could only accommodate an extended family plus retainers and functionaries. The single seat or "throne" in both the large and small audience halls at Godin can be inferred as evidence of authority vested in a single individual. I know of no example from a pre-state society where such elaborate multi-functional structures were not associated with permanent, hereditary power.
11. Whether the guardians of these structures were members of the chief's lineage is immaterial; the crucial issue is that some of the polity's labour force was being drawn off into activities not directly related to subsistence. It could be objected that the structures were guarded only in times of crisis and not on a year-round basis but this would ignore the function of these complexes as storage units for valued commodities. The point about guards is an interesting one in that such a force, however small initially, under the chief's direct control could represent the beginnings of coercive authority.
12. Evidence for the close interweaving of political and religious roles in ranked societies is "almost superabundant" according to Fried; The Evolution of Political Society (1967), pp. 137-141.

If the Godin II fine ware is specifically associated with chieftaincy, as we have suggested here, we would not expect to find it at sites which did not function as the centre of a chiefdom. Consequently, its non-occurrence in the rather poor architectural levels II-I at Baba Jan Tepe tends to confirm the suggested association. Yet another characteristic of chiefdoms are sumptuary

- rules confirming rank by distinctiveness in dress, ornamentation, food, diversions and sometimes even ritual positions and vocabulary. Most of these are amenable to direct archaeological investigation. Small finds from Godin and Nush-i Jan, however, are few and inconclusive because of their context; specifically, we need to excavate cemeteries of the period in order to pick up differences in material wealth and distinctiveness of ornamentation. Dietary differences probably reflecting hereditary rank can be detected by variations in bone strontium content; see A.B. Brown, "Bone Strontium Content as a Dietary Indicator in Human Skeletal Populations." Diss. University of Michigan, 1973. On sumptuary rules in general, see E.R. Service, Primitive Social Organization (1962), pp. 154ff.
13. On the function of these structures as magazines, see above p. 219 and n. 55. That the magazine capacity of both sites increases through time without a corresponding increase in the size of the domestic units strongly suggests that this increase was related to factors other than the immediate domestic needs of the residents.
 14. See above, p. 249 and n. 99.
 15. Cf. the 9th palu stele of Tiglath-pileser III where the numbers of horses paid in tribute by Median chiefs vary from 33 to 300. Such variation is presumably a function of the relative economic power of each polity and perhaps bears a rough correspondence to overall size. It would be useful if we could ever establish the basis on which the Assyrians computed tribute. See for example the annual tribute imposed on the Gambulu by Sargon II on his 12th palu campaign where inter alia the Gambulu were required to give one in every twenty cattle and one in every twenty sheep; ARAB, II, par. 31. Theoretically, locational analysis of archaeological survey data should help to establish general size ranges (area and population) for these Median polities but the data presently available are not sufficiently comprehensive and fine grained and lack chronological precision.
 16. Herodotus (I.101) names six Median tribes (genea) who were united under Deioces but the Greek term is too vague and ill-defined to be accepted as evidence of a particular type of social organization; see M.H. Fried, The Notion of Tribe (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cummings, 1975), pp. 4f. What is clear from ethnohistorical research is that no acephalous segmentary tribal organization can immediately underlie a state. See A.R. Service, Origins of the State and Civilization (1975); pp. 15-16.
 17. A stratified society is one in which there is institutionalized differential access to basic resources; M.H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society (1967), p. 52. The phenomenon of social stratification may appear in pre-state organizations.

18. The importance of drawing such distinctions is vital. By continuing to write about the "Medes" as if they were an entirely homogeneous entity without political, social or economic variation, we risk obscuring the complex interaction between the intrusive Assyrian state and the various Median polities. For example, pastoral nomadic groups can often resist superordinate states because of their mobility whereas agricultural sedentary groups with static resources must find some alternative accommodation with militarily superior opponents. For an example of the former, see W. Irons, The Yömüt Turkmen . . . (Ann Arbor, 1975), pp. 72ff.
19. M.H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society (1967), p. 241.
20. Assyrian involvement in the agricultural activities of the Median provinces has already been discussed; see above. p. 313. ABL 126, a letter from an Assyrian official in the administration of Harhar to Sargon, refers to construction work being carried out in connection with a "great house" of burnt brick, a [city] wall and breastworks. Another letter to Sargon which reports on Zakrutu, the Medes and Dalta of Ellipi and must therefore come from the central Zagros also mentions a dispute over building operations, possibly involving city walls; see H.W.F. Saggs, Iraq, 20 (1958), pp. 191-192, ND 2655, face B, lines 1ff.
21. Although I have been unable to pursue this theme, I would suggest that comparative studies of other, better-documented Assyrian provincial administrations may well yield further insights.
22. The chiefdom of Karakka of Urikaya was incorporated into the province of Kar Sharrukin in Sargon II's 6th palû (p. 102 above). However, two years later, Karakka still appears among Sargon's tributaries; TCL III, 11.39ff. Some aspects of traditional socio-political organization therefore seem to have continued although the effects of Assyrian administration after half-a-century would presumably have been far more profound. Karakka was succeeded by his son, later deposed by the Assyrian governor; ABL, 713.
23. See G. Dahl and A. Hjort, Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 1976), passim and the discussion by F. Barth, Nomads of South Persia (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1961), pp. 123ff; although he is specifically discussing nomadic pastoralism, Barth's remarks on preserving a balance between population, herd size and pasturage should apply with modification to any society with a significant pastoral component. For agricultural economies and "surpluses", see C. Belshaw, Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 77 and n. 23.
24. For example, in long-fallow shifting cultivation, there is an adaptive advantage for a lineage, group, village or small polity to hold land in common; assigning usufructory rights to members according to need. Wherever the economy is intensified and

- land scarcity results, group control encounters difficulties. Disputes over the quality and quantity of land allotments increase and usufructory rights tend to become permanent which, in turn, encourages stratification; see R. McC. Netting, Cultural Ecology (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cummings, 1977), p. 75.
25. Esarhaddon, for example, was obliged to intervene in an internecine conflict between neighbouring Median chiefdoms; ARAB, II, par. 566.
 26. The following is based partly on personal observation during numerous trips through the Hamadan plain between 1971 and 1975. The Hamadan plain is part of an endoreic basin and concentric zonation is to be expected; see T.M. Oberlander, "Hydrography," in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. I: The Land of Iran, ed. W.B. Fisher (London, 1968), pp. 276ff. The advent of modern irrigation techniques and mechanized agriculture as well as the disappearance of large scale horse pastoralism has, of course, altered traditional patterns of exploitation.
 27. According to Olmstead, the Hamadan plain was the centre for the rearing of the famous Nesaean horses; A.T.E. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire (Chicago, 1948), p. 30 and classical sources cited in n. 79. If this could be demonstrated, it would be welcome support for the theory advanced here. Unfortunately, the classical sources are simply not that specific. Diodorus Siculus says that on his march from Mesopotamia to Ecbatana, Alexander the Great diverged from his route to see Bagistan (Bisitun). From there he went next to an area where 60,000 Nesaean horses (out of an original herd of 160,000) were being pastured. After a stay of thirty days, he resumed his march and reached Ecbatana after seven days; Diod. Siculus, XVIII.110. Diodorus therefore understood the Nesaean pastures as being located at some distance from Ecbatana. There is no question that the province of Media was an important source of horses in the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid periods; part of the tribute paid to Artaxerxes I was the pasturage of 50,000 Nesaean horses; Olmstead, *ibid.*, p. 291 and for the Seleucid period, see R.N. Frye, The Heritage of Persia (1962), p. 137. In the Seljuk period, the Hamadan plain was evidently the only area in western Iran where the entire Seljuk cavalry could marshall and pasture their horses together; pers. comm., T.C. Young, Jr.
 28. W. Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany (Englewood Cliffs, N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1966).
 29. See A.F. Burghardt, "A Hypothesis about Gateway Cities," Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr., 61 (1971), pp. 269-285 who provides a descriptive definition of a gateway city and an hypothesis accounting for their rise in certain locales and for their diachronic pattern of development. The developmental aspects of Burghardt's hypothesis have been successfully tested against

Anglo-American and Central European historical examples of such communities. In addition, a number of ancient gateway cities have been identified; see D. Grove et al., "Settlement and Culture Development at Chalcatzingo," Science, 192 (1976), pp. 1203-1210 and K.G. Hirth, "Interregional Trade and the Formation of Prehistoric Gateway Communities," American Antiquity, 43 (1978), pp. 35-45.

30. Hirth, pp. 37-38. Much of the following discussion is heavily influenced by Hirth's excellent article.
31. Carol A. Smith, "Exchange systems and the spatial distribution of elites: the organization of stratification in agrarian societies," in Regional Analysis, Vol. 2: Social Systems, ed. C.A. Smith (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 319. On the evolution of dendritic networks, see K.V. Flannery, "The Olmec and the Valley of Oaxaca: a model for interregional interaction in Formative Times," in Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1968), pp. 79-110.
32. The model is Flannery's; see Flannery, pp. 79ff.
33. I have purposely refrained from any reference to the possibility that Assyrian merchants were active in Media because of the complete lack of documentation. Even if they were not, a proposition I find unlikely, the Assyrians by taking lapis, copper and other goods from their Median vassals as tribute or plunder would have stimulated such trade indirectly.
34. The one constant factor in this problem is the Assyrian need for horses for military purposes, a need that had to be met every year. Since most of the historical references to the Medes suggest that they were predominantly sedentary agriculturalists, one wonders why they were producing or procuring horses in these numbers if not in response to a continual Assyrian demand for them.
35. On the processes by which usufructory pasturage rights can be subverted, resulting in privileged private ownership see F. Barth, Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1953) and D.G. Bates, Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey (Ann Arbor: University Museum, University of Michigan, 1973), pp. 133ff. Ethnographic analogies such as these must be used cautiously; in the case of the Yörük a critical factor in the alienation of usufructory pasturage rights is their involvement in a cash economy.
36. A close link between intensified regional and long distance trade on the one hand and state organization on the other must be assumed in many cases of both pristine and secondary state formation. Ethnohistorical examples are abundant; see, for

example, C.P. Kottak, "A Cultural Adaptive Approach to Malagasy Political Organization," in Social Exchange and Interaction, ed. E.N. Wilmsen (Ann Arbor: University Museum, University of Michigan, 1972), pp. 107-128; R.F. Stevenson, Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), especially his comments, pp. 25f. and passim; and the remarks by J. Vansina, The Historian in Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 85.

37. G.A. Johnson, Local Exchange and Early State Development in Southwestern Iran (Ann Arbor, 1973).
38. Johnson, p. 15.
39. Johnson, pp. 160-161. This quotation reads like a sophisticated paraphrase of the plight of Deioeces who found that "it did not square with his own interests to spend the whole day in regulating other men's affairs to the neglect of his own" (Herodotus, I. 97). In Johnsonian terms, Deioeces was a chieftain whose decision-making abilities were being overloaded, requiring his elevation to kingship and the creation of bureaucracy to help administer the increasingly complex affairs of his society (I. 99). Herodotus is describing a society in flux where traditional methods of dispute settlement have broken down and are inadequate to cope with increasing stress.

CONCLUSION

A few concluding remarks are appropriate to stay those hands edging towards Occam's Razor. The objectives of this lengthy study have been threefold - to advance a new paradigm for the archaeological sequence of the early first millennium B.C. in the central Zagros; to identify and explain the policies guiding Neo-Assyrian intrusion into that area; and to elucidate the origins of the Median state.

The first of these objectives has been adequately discussed at the close of the archaeological section and requires no further elaboration here. Instead, I wish to take this opportunity to explicitly remind the reader of the numerous weaknesses in the overall argument bearing on the last two objectives. One would like to know a great deal more about such matters as Assyrian provincial administration, the nature of tribute and taxation, the internal organization of the various Median polities, and the trading activities of Assyrian merchants to mention just a few.

With such scanty data as are available on Assyrian - Median interaction, any attempt to seek conformity with an explanatory model risks becoming a Procrustean pastime. However, some of the results of this inquiry suggest that the line of analysis pursued may not be too far removed from the historical reality. The rationale adduced for Neo-Assyrian imperial activities in the Zagros, that is the systematization of the mountain-lowland symbiosis fits well with the

parameters of Assyrian influence suggested by Levine's historical geography; it would be difficult to find an economic justification for Assyrian penetration to the central Iranian plateau which the old paradigm of historical geography would require. In addition, the model of inter-regional exchange and long-distance trade advanced in connection with the emergence of the Median state has the advantage of explaining the unique status enjoyed by Ecbatana in control of a major route but free of Assyrian domination. Nevertheless, the diachronic aspects of this study are unavoidably uneven. If much must await further archaeological and historical research, it is hoped that the many deficiencies in documentation will not obscure the heuristic value of the hypothesis outlined.

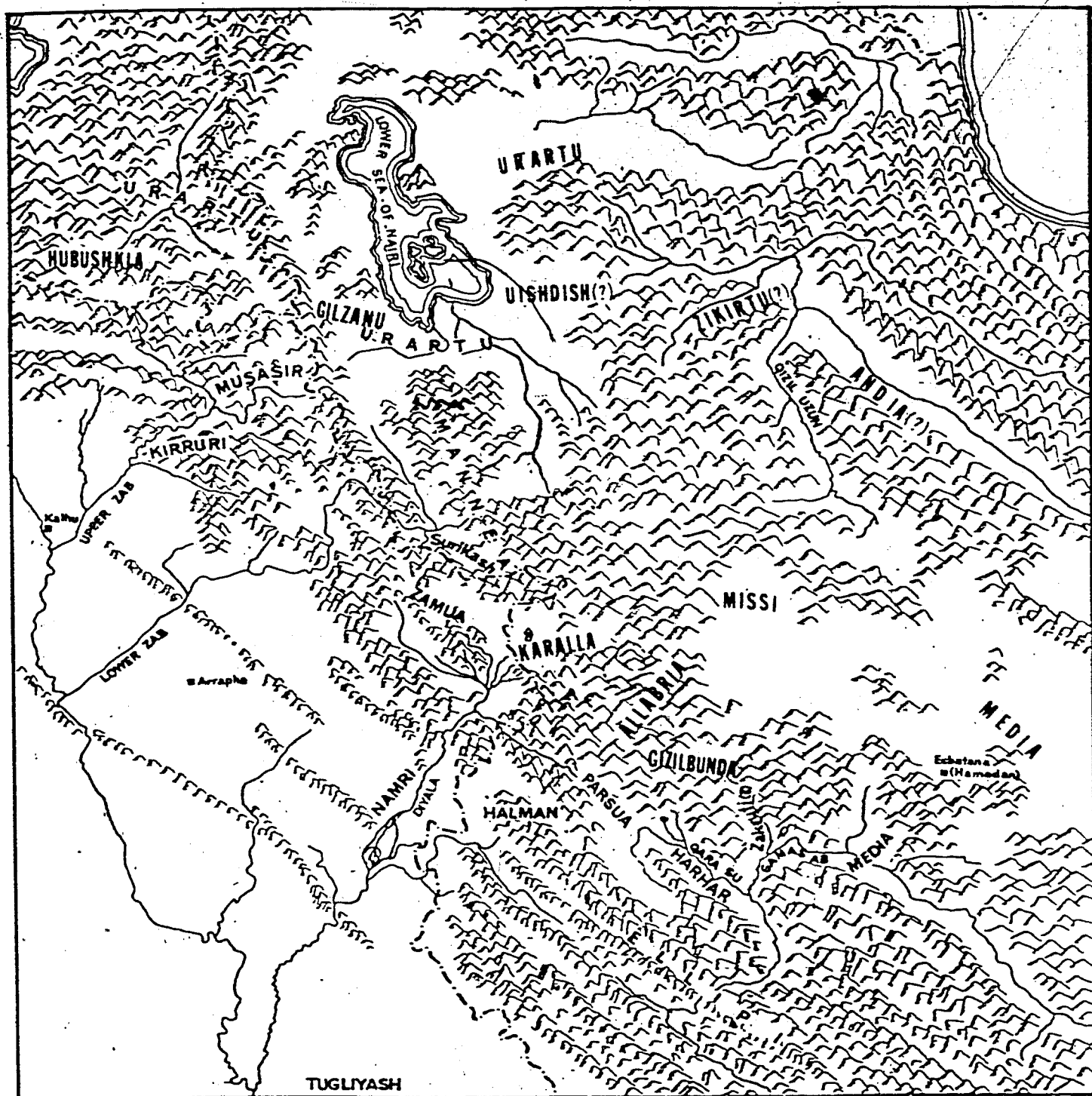
The archaeological criteria for testing these hypotheses must also be worked out in some detail. For example, with respect to the process of state formation in Media, we should expect to be able to document this in such phenomena as increasing differentials in material wealth in graves and domestic contexts and the presence of elite status goods. Settlement patterns analysis may allow us to pinpoint hierarchical arrangements that can be associated with chiefdoms. In particular, it would be significant to establish along with such settlement patterns an increase in population density, already suggested in the Kangavar survey data that were analyzed earlier in this study.¹

However inadequate this analysis of Median state formation has been, two factors emerge clearly. The ability of a predatory state to expand militarily depends on two pre-conditions - the concentration of the means of production in the hands of a ruling class and the effective

integration of that control over the basic resources of the core area. The dialectics of the evolving situation in the central Zagros were probably never understood by the Assyrians themselves. The contradictions in what to them must have appeared to have been self-interested policies were perhaps never apparent. By intensifying the economic symbiosis between mountains and lowlands, the Assyrians provided the necessary stimulus for secondary state formation in Media and were heating up the wax that was to seal their fate.

Endnote to Conclusion

1. Stevenson's study of the complex indirect and mediated relationship between state development and population increase shows that while the two phenomena almost invariably co-occur, we should not necessarily expect close synchronization; R.F. Stevenson, Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa (New York, Columbia University Press, 1968), especially pp. 226-7.

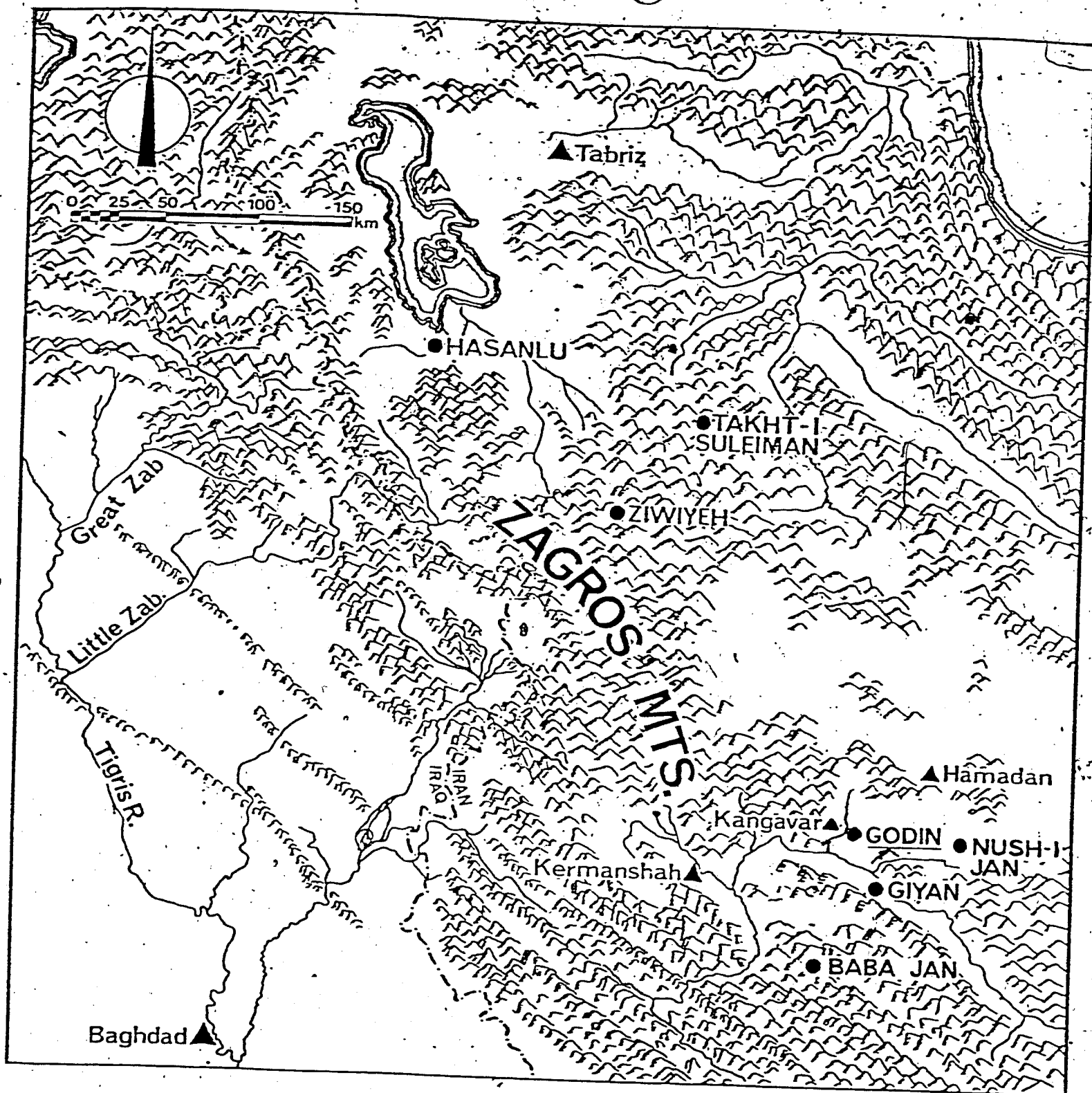


THE NEO-ASSYRIAN ZAGROS

Source: adapted from Levine, Iran, 12 (1974), p.105, fig.2.

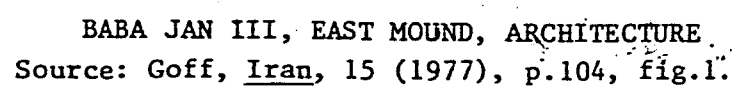
FIGURE 3

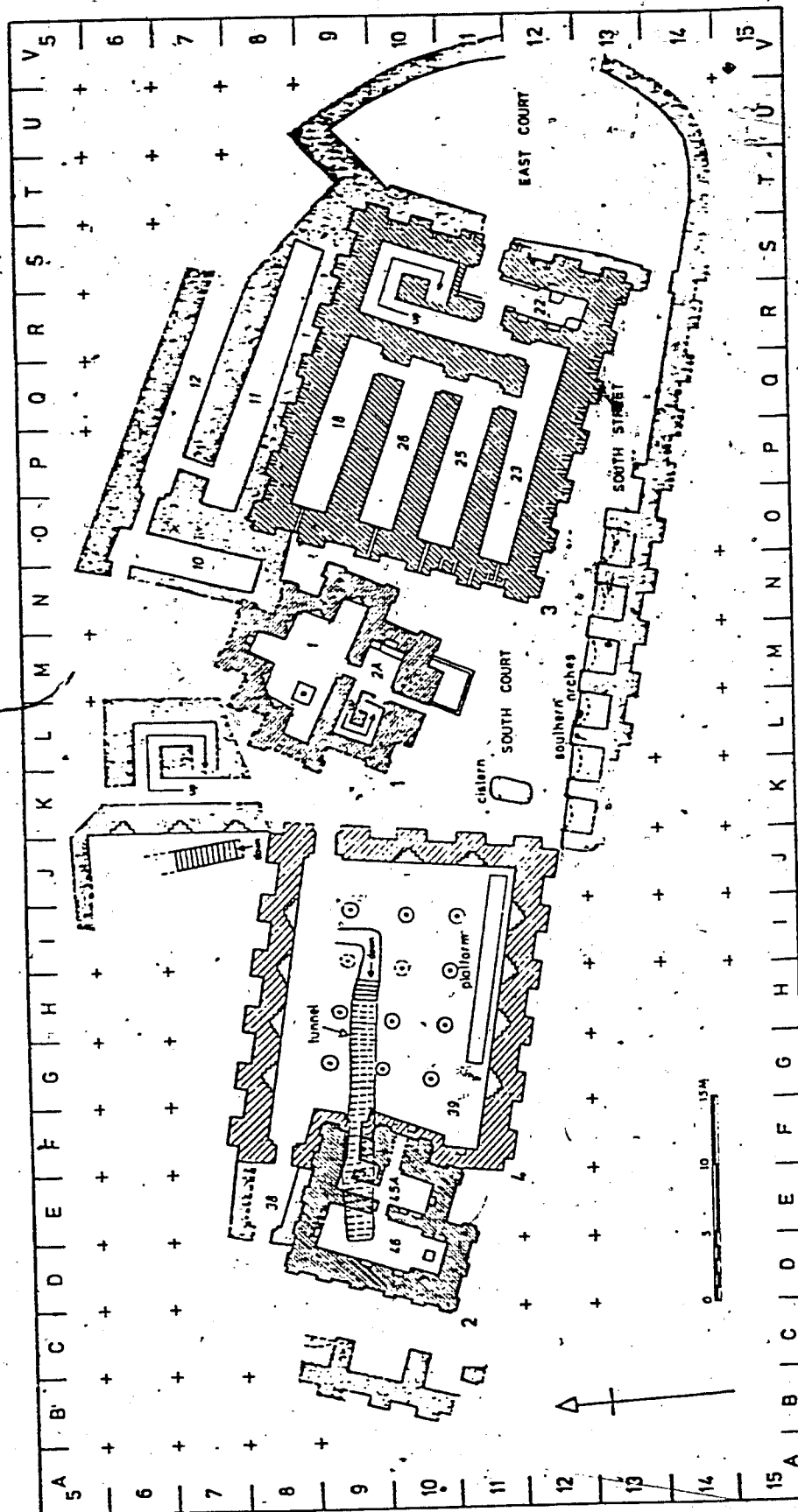
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IRON AGE SITES IN WESTERN IRAN
Source: courtesy T.C. Young, Jr.

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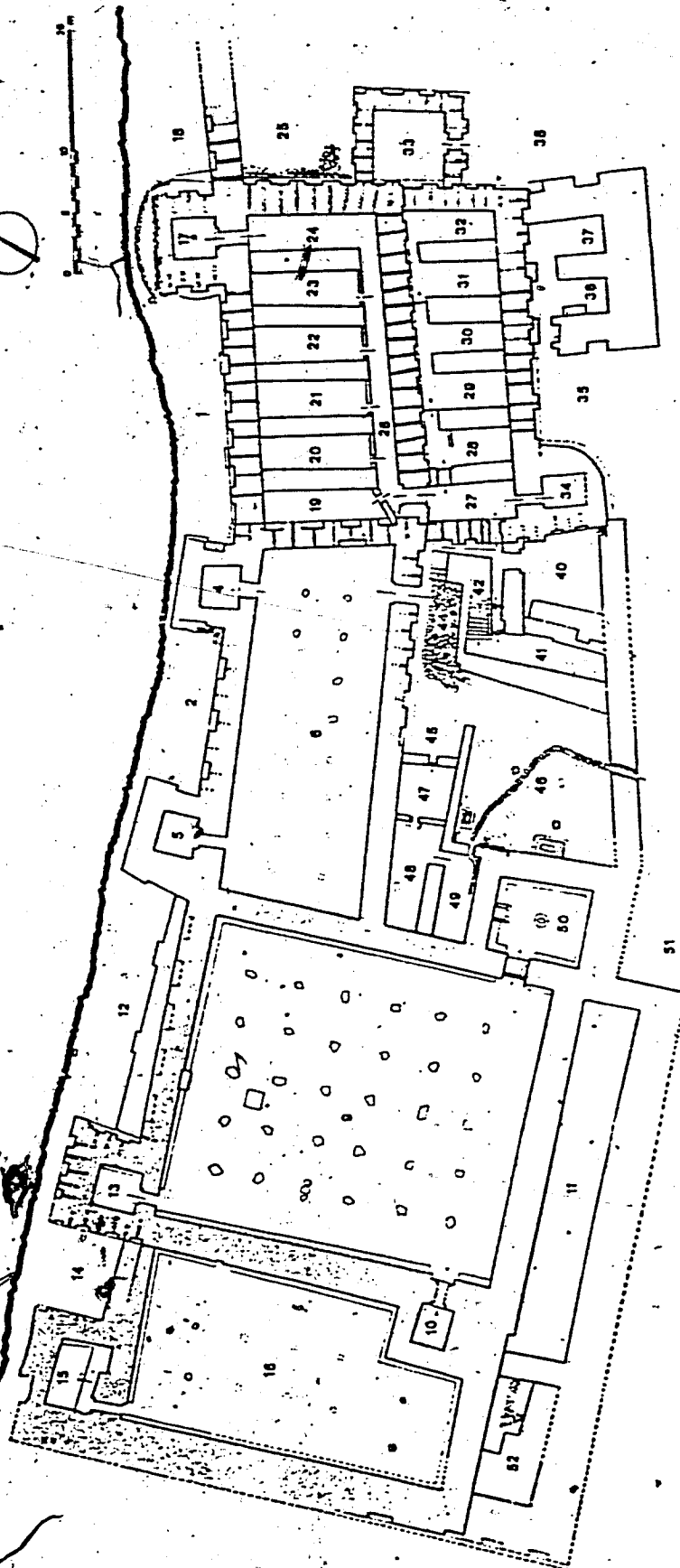


NUSH-I JAN I, ARCHITECTURE
 Source: Stronach, Iran, 16(1978), p.2, fig.1.

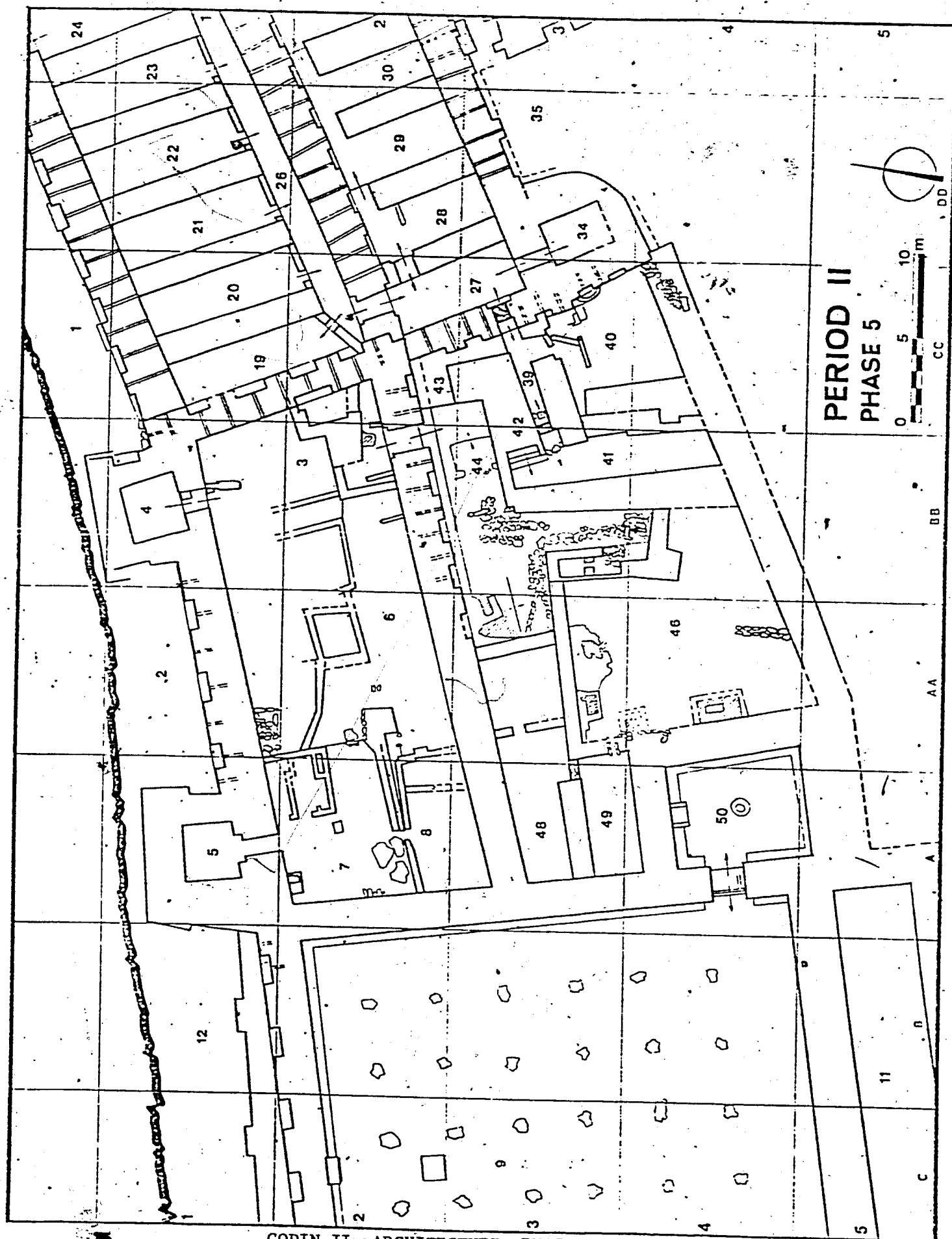
GODIN TEPE 87-73
PERIOD II



0 5 10 20 m



GODIN II, ARCHITECTURE, PHASES 1-4
Source: unpub. plan, courtesy T.C. Young, Jr.

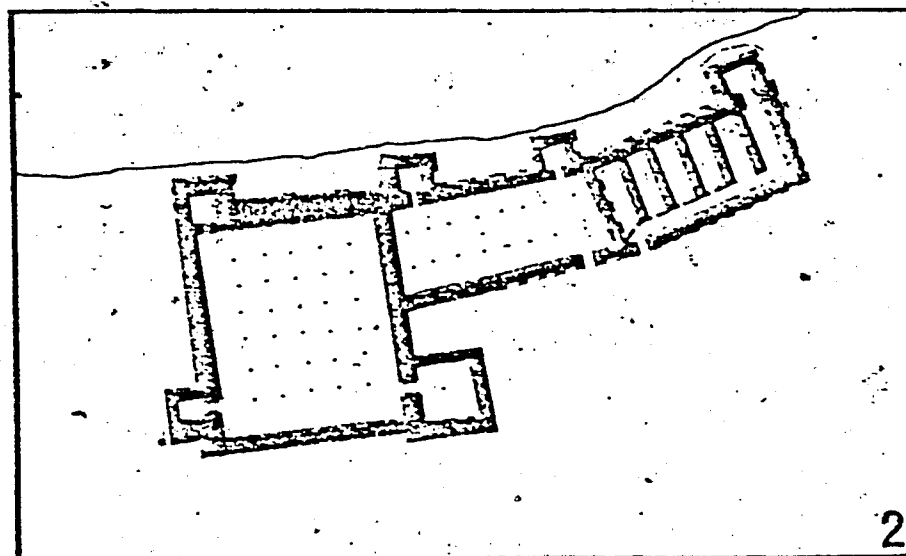
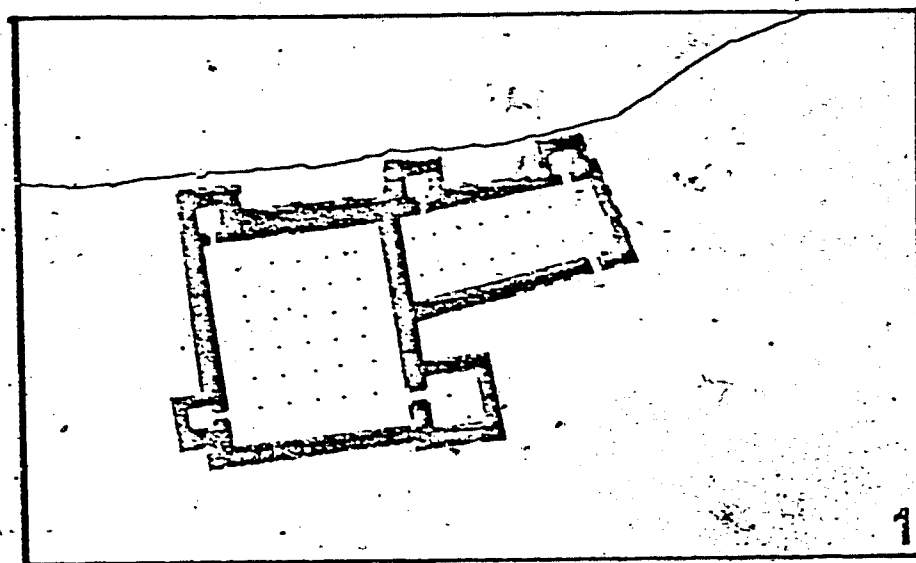
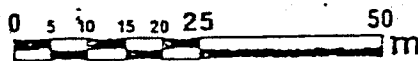


GODIN II, ARCHITECTURE, PHASE 5
 Source: unpub. plan, courtesy T.C. Young, Jr.

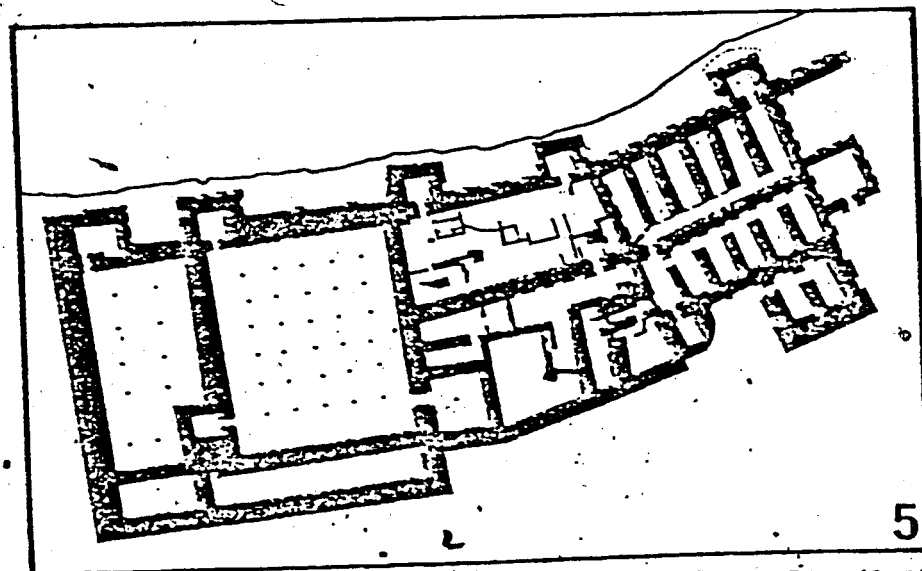
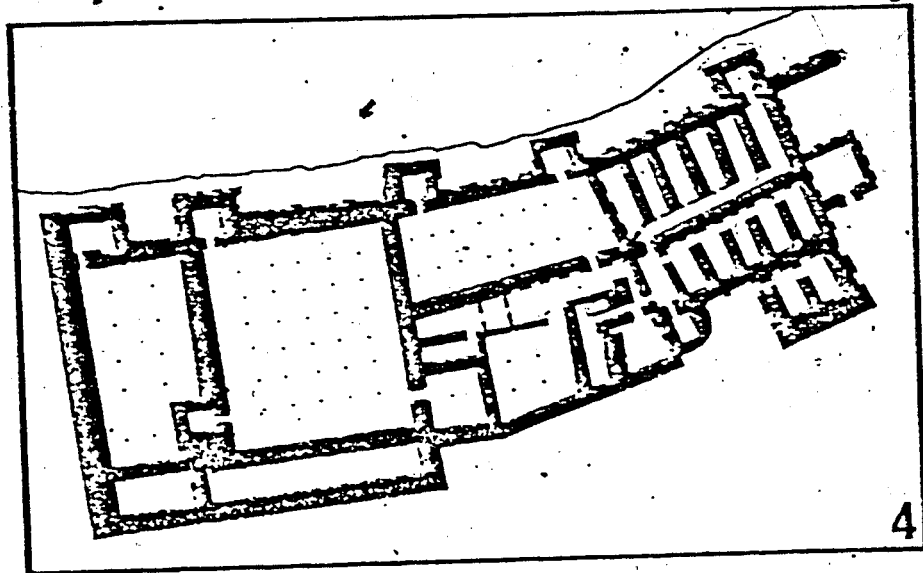
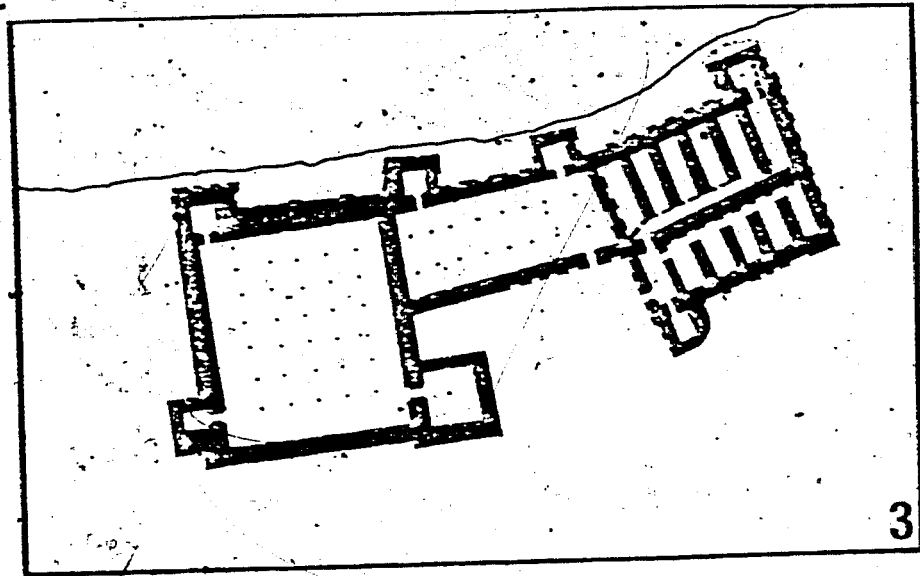
GODIN TEPE

PERIOD II

PHASES OF CONSTRUCTION



GODIN II, ARCHITECTURE, PHASES OF CONSTRUCTION (1-2)
Source: unpub. plan, courtesy T.C. Young, Jr.

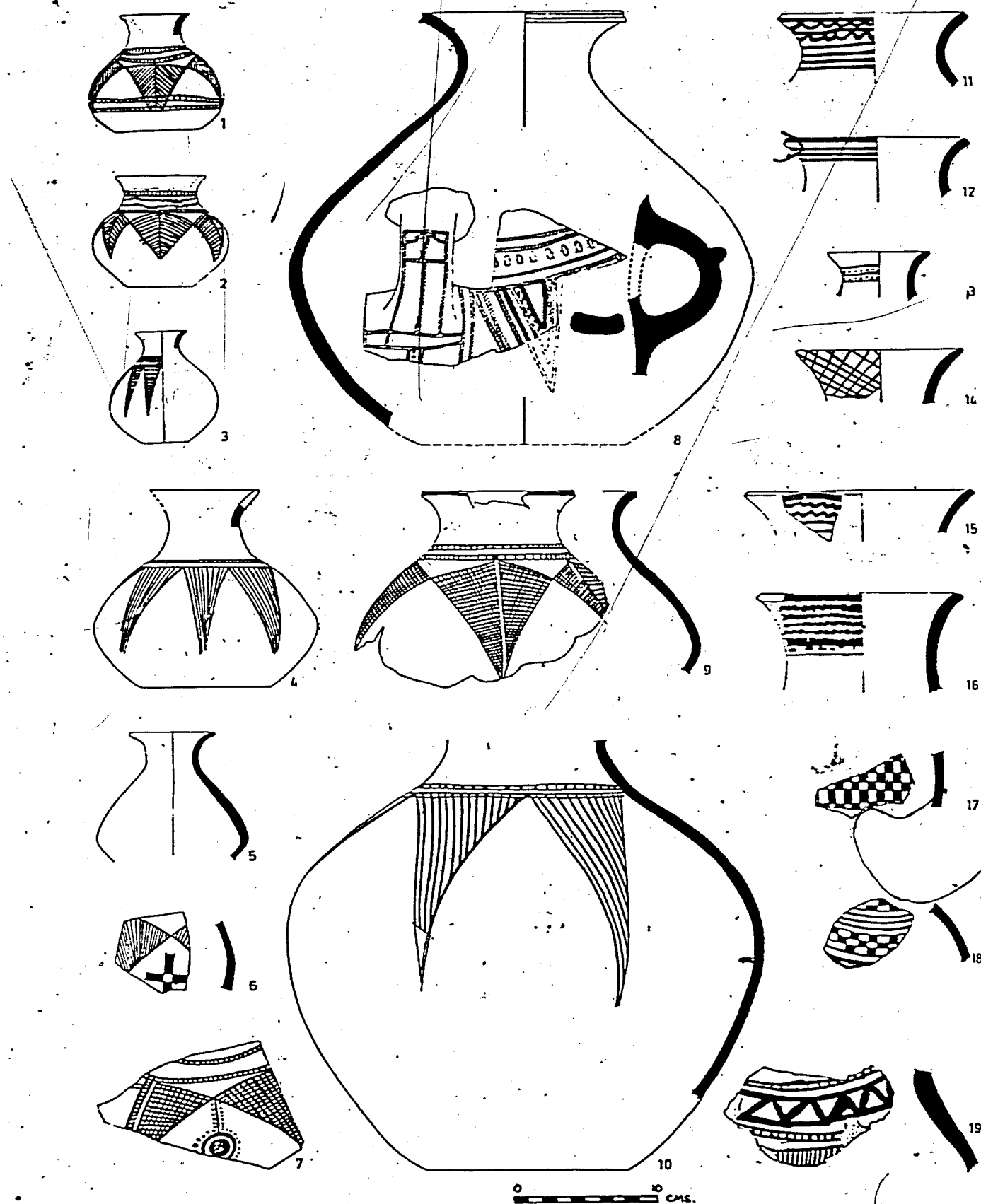


GODIN II, ARCHITECTURE, PHASES OF CONSTRUCTION (3-5)
Source: unpub. plan, courtesy T.C. Young, Jr.

FIGURE 12: CATALOGUE

All examples except no. 5 are painted Baba Jan III Common Ware.

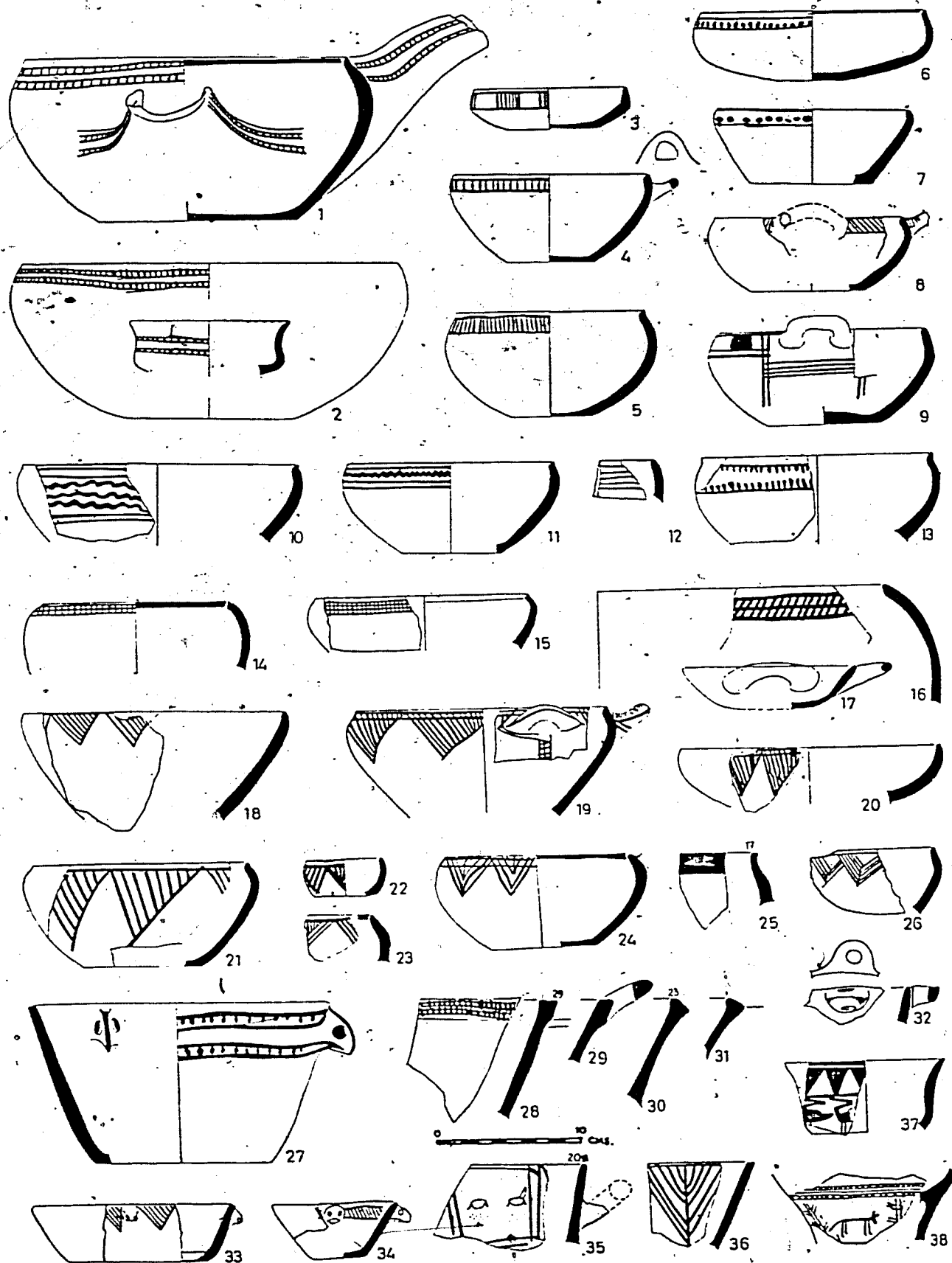
- 1: Creamy-buff; large grit inclusions; polished surface; brown paint; phase 1.
- 2: Pale buff; fine grit temper; burnished surface; reddish-brown paint; phase 2.
- 3: Grey; white grit temper; dark brown paint; phase 1 pit.
- 4: Warm buff; burnished surface; red paint; topsoil.
- 5: Fine grey ware; mica temper; polished surface; phase 1.
- 6: White buff; red paint; unstratified.
- 7: Buff; reddish-brown paint; phase 1.
- 8: Buff; grit temper; smoothed surface; phase 1.
- 8a: Heavy buff common; large inclusions; burnished surface; brown paint; phase 3.
- 9: Buff; grit temper; burnished surface; red paint; phase 1.
- 10: Buff; grit temper; burnished surface; brown paint; phase 1.
- 11: Buff; burnished surface; phase 2.
- 12: Buff; dark brown paint; phase 1/2.
- 13: Whitish-buff; red paint; phase 1.
- 14: Warm buff; red paint; phase 1.
- 15: Buff; brown paint; phase 1.
- 16: Buff; burnished surface; red paint; unstratified.
- 17: Warm peachy buff; thick red paint; phase 3.
- 18: Buff; white slip; red paint; phase 1.
- 19: Green-brown core; red-brown surface; buff slip; brown paint; phase 2.



BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, CENTRAL MOUND (1-3), POTTERY
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 43, fig. 1.

FIGURE 13: CATALOGUE

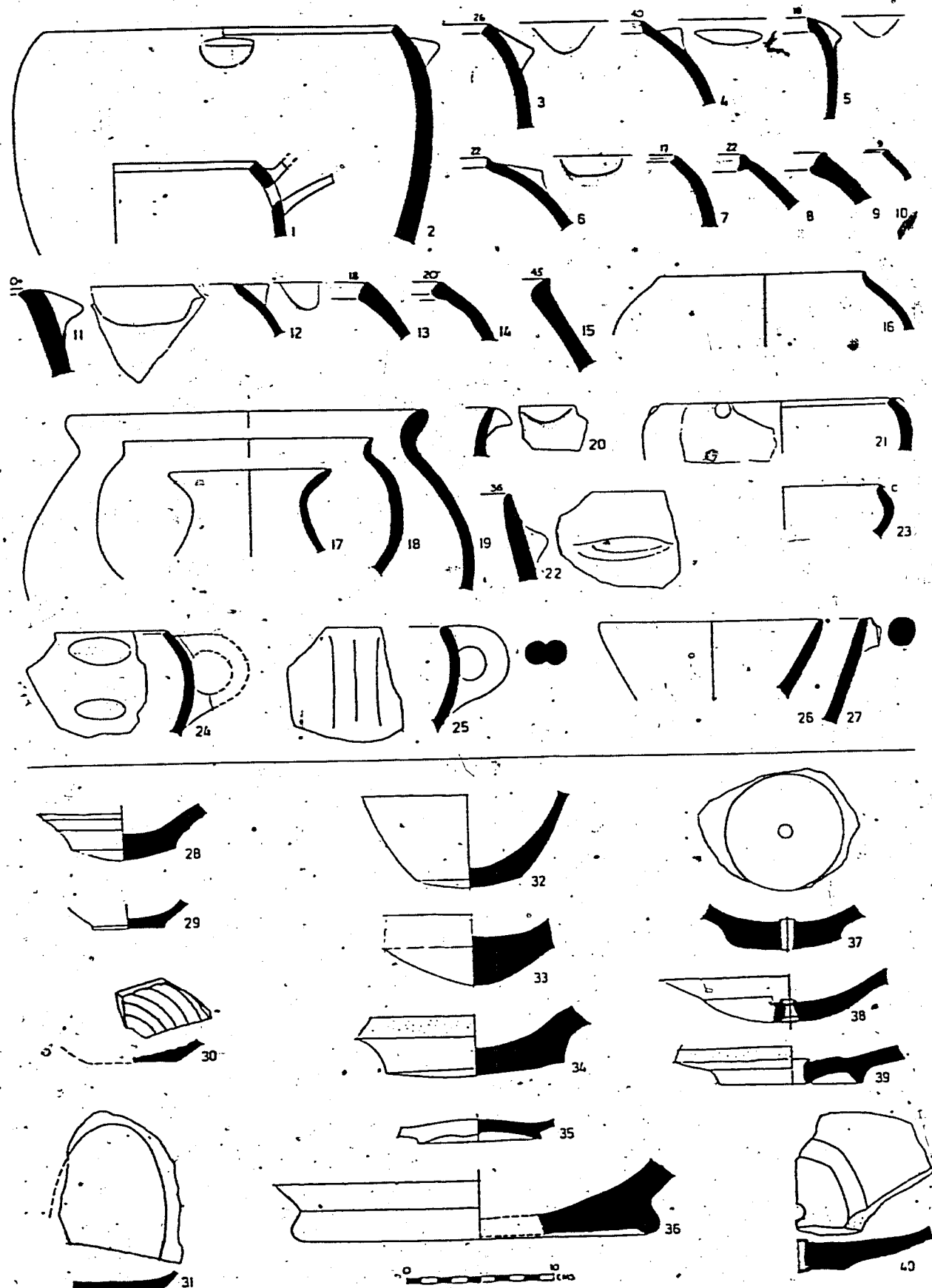
No published data.



BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, CENTRAL MOUND (1-3); POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 44, fig. 2.

FIGURE 14: CATALOGUE

No published data.

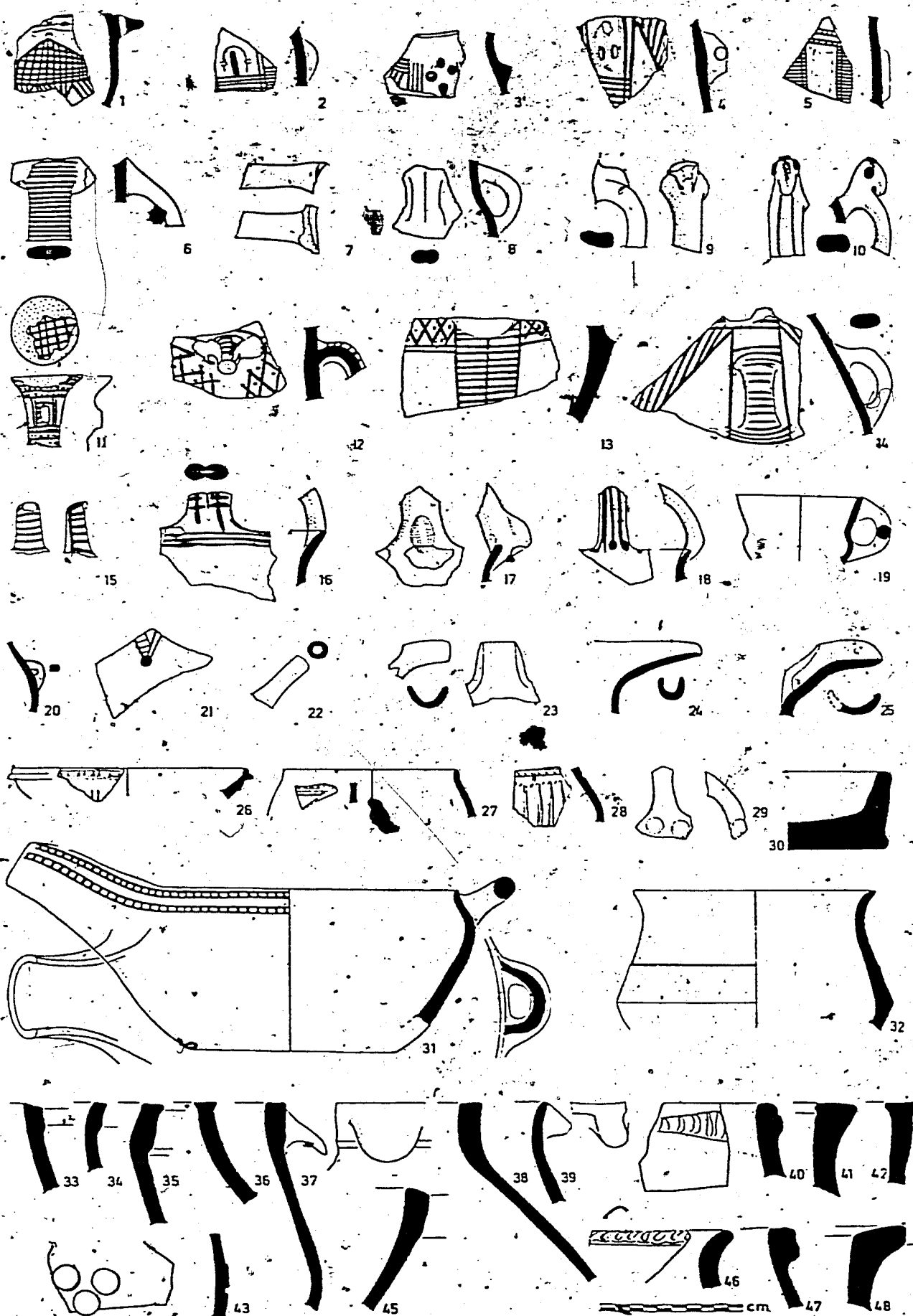


BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, CENTRAL MOUND (1-3), POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 45, fig. 3.

FIGURE 15: CATALOGUE

No published details on provenance.

- 1-25: Baba San III Common Wares.
- 26-29: Grey Ware.
- 30: Straw-tempered hearth fragment.
- 31: Common Ware.
- 32: Common Ware; burnished.
- 33-39: Heavy Common Ware.
- 40-42: Assorted pithos rims.
- 43: Applied decoration on heavy Common Ware.
- 44: Deleted.
- 45: Heavy Common Ware.
- 46-48: Assorted pithos rims.

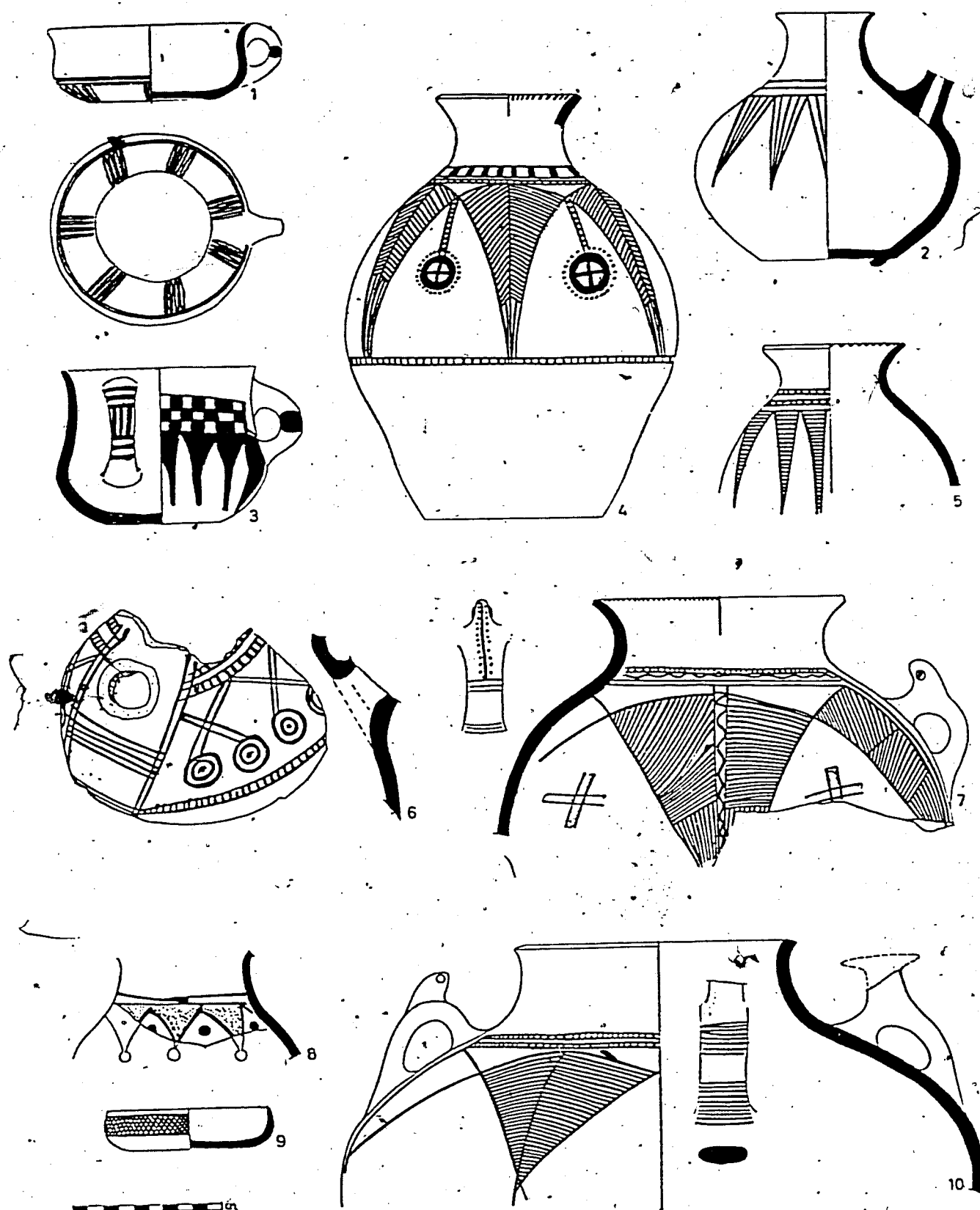


BABĀ JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, CENTRAL MOUND (1-3), POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 46, fig. 4.

FIGURE 16: CATALOGUE

East Mound: Grey (1) and Painted Common Wares from Room 3, period III floor and fill.

- 1: Grey ware; small brown grits; burnished surface; grooved decoration; III fill.
- 2: Buff; red paint; in wall-slit beside fireplace.
- 3: Cream; reddish-brown paint; III fill.
- 4: Dirty buff; small black grits; black-brown paint; III floor.
- 5: Cream; reddish-brown paint; III fill.
- 6: Greenish-buff; buff slip; burnished; red-brown paint; III floor.
- 7: Fine buff; light red-brown paint; III floor.
- 8: Cream; burnished; brown paint; III fill.
- 9: Dirty buff; white grits; red-brown paint; III fill.
- 10: Cream; yellow-green paint; III floor.



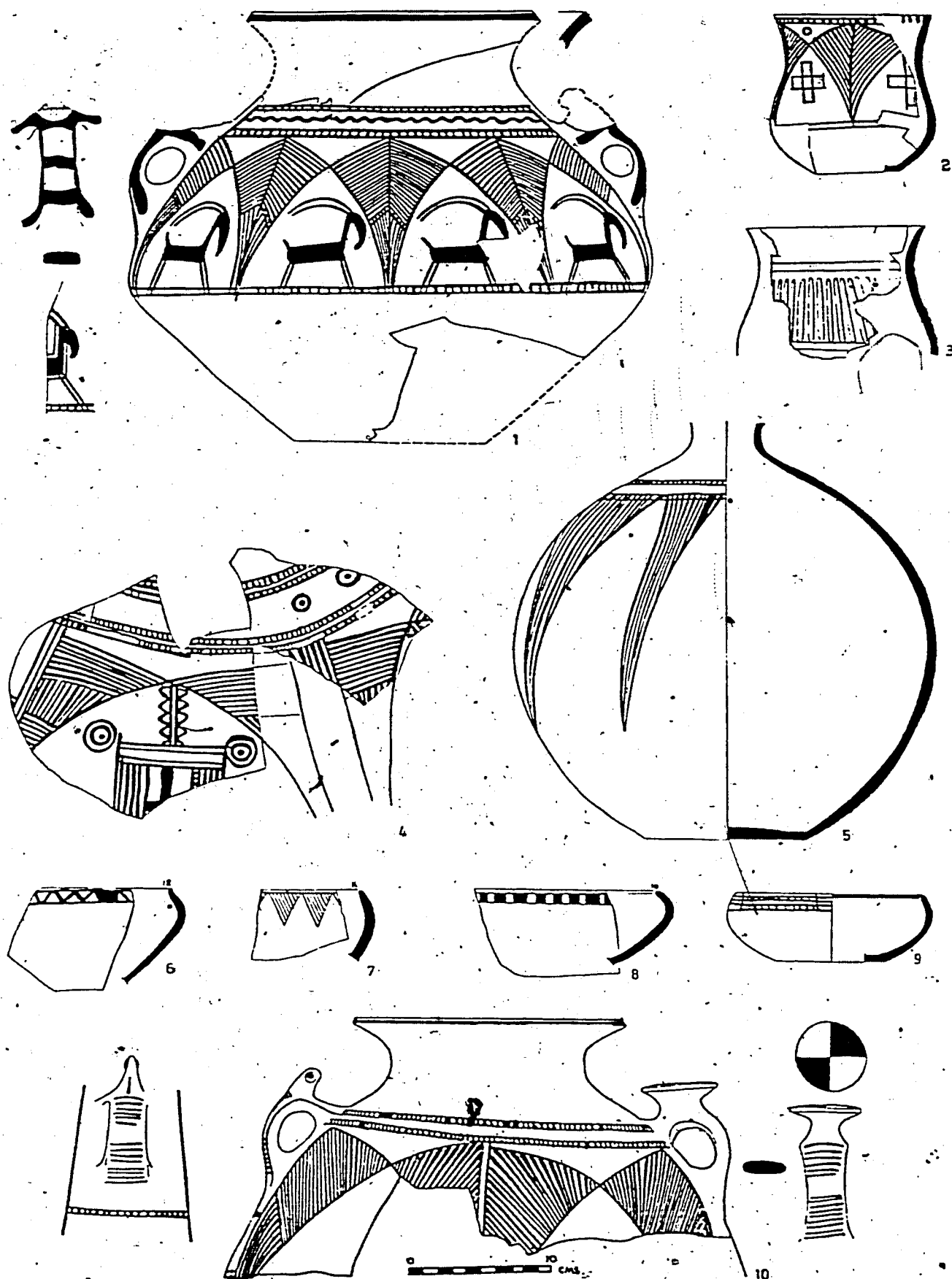
BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.

Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 47, fig. 5.

FIGURE 17: CATALOGUE

East Mound: Grey (3) and Painted Common Wares from III floors of White Room (1-2) and Room 5 (3-10).

- 1: Pink-buff; burnished; red-brown paint; III floor.
- 2: Whitish-buff; burnished; red-brown paint; III floor.
- 3: Grey fine ware; polished; grooved decoration; room 5 plinth.
- 4: Buff; cream slip; red-brown paint; room 5 floor.
- 5: Buff; cream slip; burnished; brown paint.
- 6: Buff; red-brown paint; room 5 floor.
- 7: Brown-buff; small black grits; red paint; room 5 floor.
- 8: Greenish-buff; green-brown paint; room 5 floor.
- 9: Buff; red-brown paint; room 5 floor.
- 10: Buff; red-brown paint.

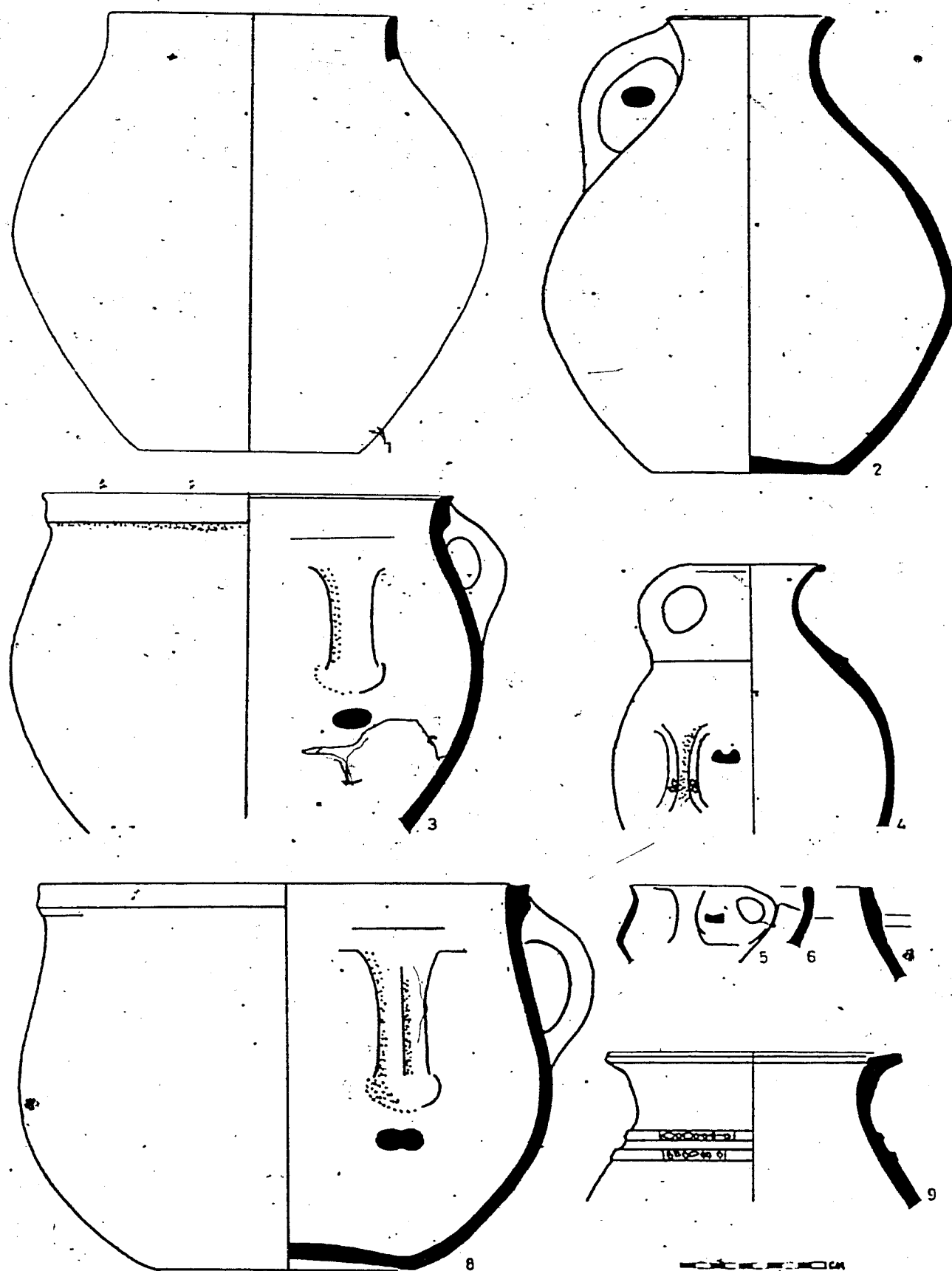


BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 48, fig. 6.

FIGURE 18: CATALOGUE

East Mound, Plain Wares from Period III floors in rooms 3 and 5.

- 1: Heavy common ware; black grits; smoothed surface; room 3, III fill.
- 2: Greyish-cream common; burnished; room 3, III fill.
- 3: Cream buff common; room 3, III floor,
- 4: Reddish with large white grits; cream slip; room 5, floor.
- 5: Yellow-buff, gritty common ware; room 5, floor.
- 6: Buff pithos ware; large grits; room 5, floor.
- 7: Grey-buff, heavy common ware; large grits; room 5, floor.
- 8: Buff common ware; burnished; period III.
- 9: Reddish-brown, gritty pithos ware; room 5, floor.



BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD III, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 49, fig. 7.

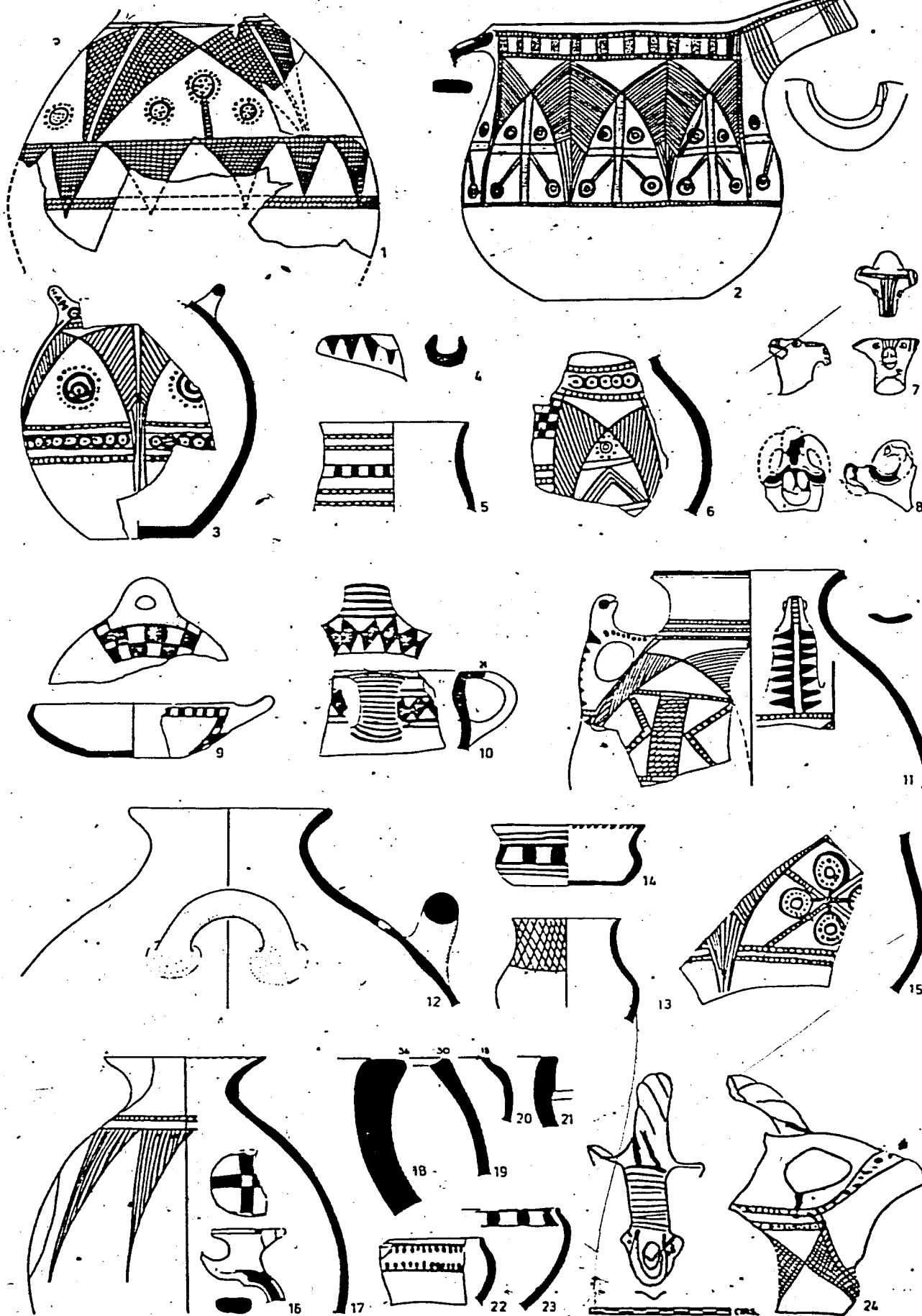
FIGURE 19: CATALOGUE

Baba Jan III Common Ware from outlying trenches (SD) and various rooms of the East Mound.

- 1: Pink-buff; cream slip; red paint; SD 8.
- 2: Buff; burnished; red brown paint; SD 1.
- 3: Buff; burnished; red brown paint; IIA (East Mound).
- 4: Buff; brown paint; IIC (East Mound).
- 5: Cream buff; brown paint; IIC-III.
- 6: Buff; brown paint; IIA-B (East Mound).
- 7: Whitish-buff; brown paint; SD 1.
- 8: Buff; red brown paint; unstratified.
- 9: Orange-buff; red brown paint; room 4, stratum 8.
- 10: Buff; red brown paint; room 4, stratum 8, II white floor.
- 11: Green-buff; brown paint; room 4, stratum 9, III floor.
- 12: Greenish-cream; IIA or B.
- 13: Buff; burnished; red paint; II/III transition.
- 14: Buff; red brown paint; room 2, stratum 6, III fill.
- 15: Buff; red brown paint; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 16: Greenish; brown paint; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 17: Pinkish; white slip; red brown paint; room 2, stratum 6, II fill.
- 18: Pithos ware; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 19: Greyish cooking ware; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 20: Black cooking ware; burnished; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 21: Greenish-buff heavy common ware; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 22: Buff common ware; brown paint; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 23: Buff; brown paint; room 2, stratum 8, III fill.
- 24: Buff; red brown paint; room 2, stratum 9, III floor.

FIGURE 19

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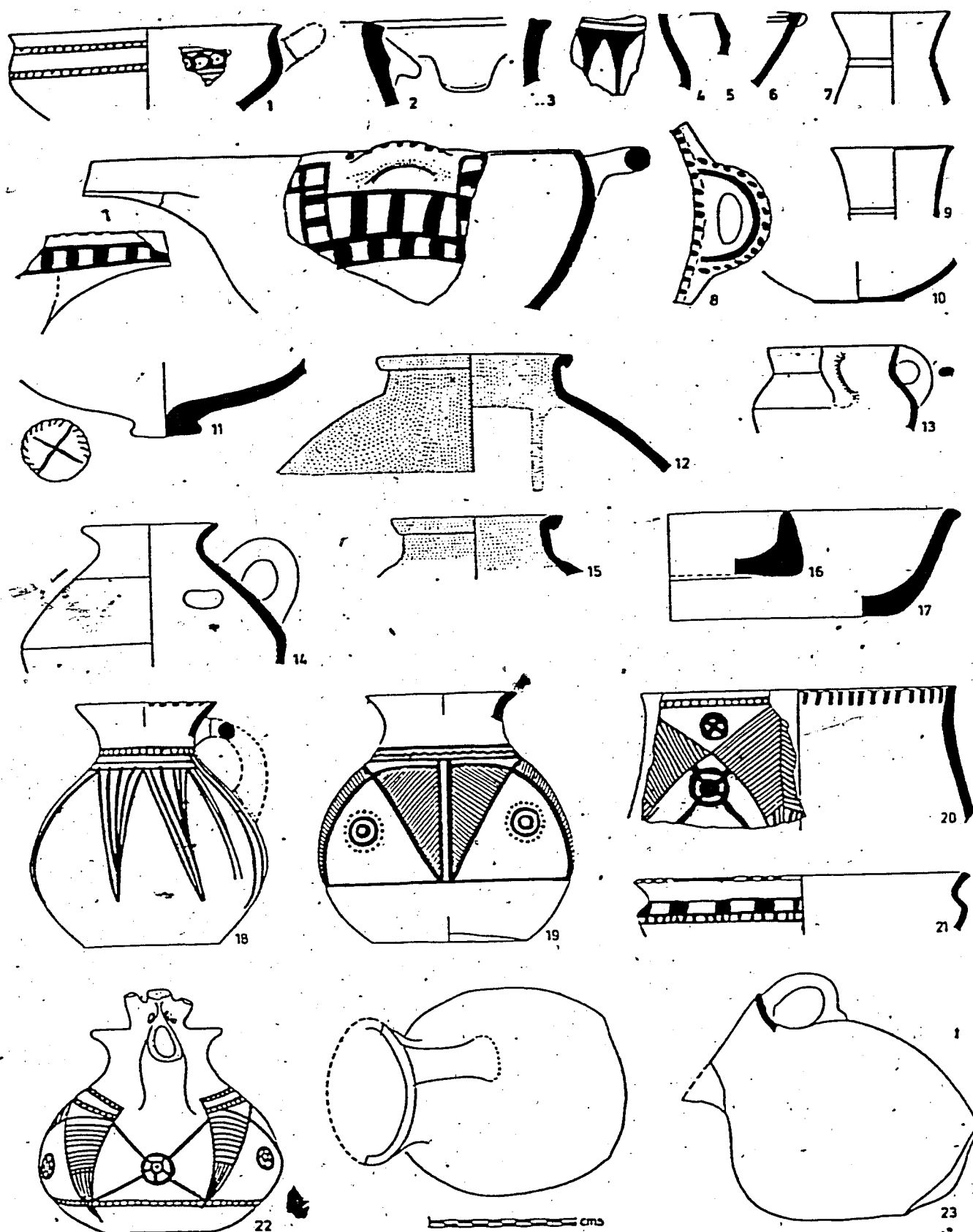


BABA JAN TEPE, PERIODS III & II, EAST MOUND & SONDAGES, POTTERY.
Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 50, fig. 8.

FIGURE 20: CATALOGUE

All from East Mound, Period II, except for nos. 12, 22 and 23.

- 1: Common ware; burnished; red-brown paint; II-I erosion.
- 1a: Common ware; black-green paint; II-I erosion.
- 2: Heavy Common ware; II-I erosion.
- 3: Coarse, grey-buff; upper II.
- 4: Common ware; red paint; upper II.
- 5: Buff; small black grits; upper II.
- 6: Imported ware; II-I erosion.
- 7: Fine, hard ware; dark red-brown paint; upper II.
- 8: Coarse Common; brown paint; IIC.
- 9: Fine grey ware; burnished; upper II.
- 10: Fine red ware; red slip; burnished; upper II.
- 11: Coarse, pithos ware; red slip; burnished; upper II.
- 12: Orange ware; black grits; red paint; period I.
- 13: Imported ware; no provenance.
- 14: Imported ware; II.
- 15: Imported ware; (IIB ?).
- 16: Coarse, grey-buff ware; large grits; room 4, stratum 5, II.
- 17: Heavy Common ware; room 4, stratum 5, II.
- 18: Common ware; brown paint; probably IID.
- 19: Common ware; brown paint; probably IID.
- 20: Heavy buff Common ware; burnished; brown paint; (IIC ?).
- 21: Buff Common ware; brown paint; (IIC ?).
- 22: Grey Common ware; dark-green paint; grave 1 between mounds.
- 23: Buff Common ware; cream slip; grave 1 between mounds.

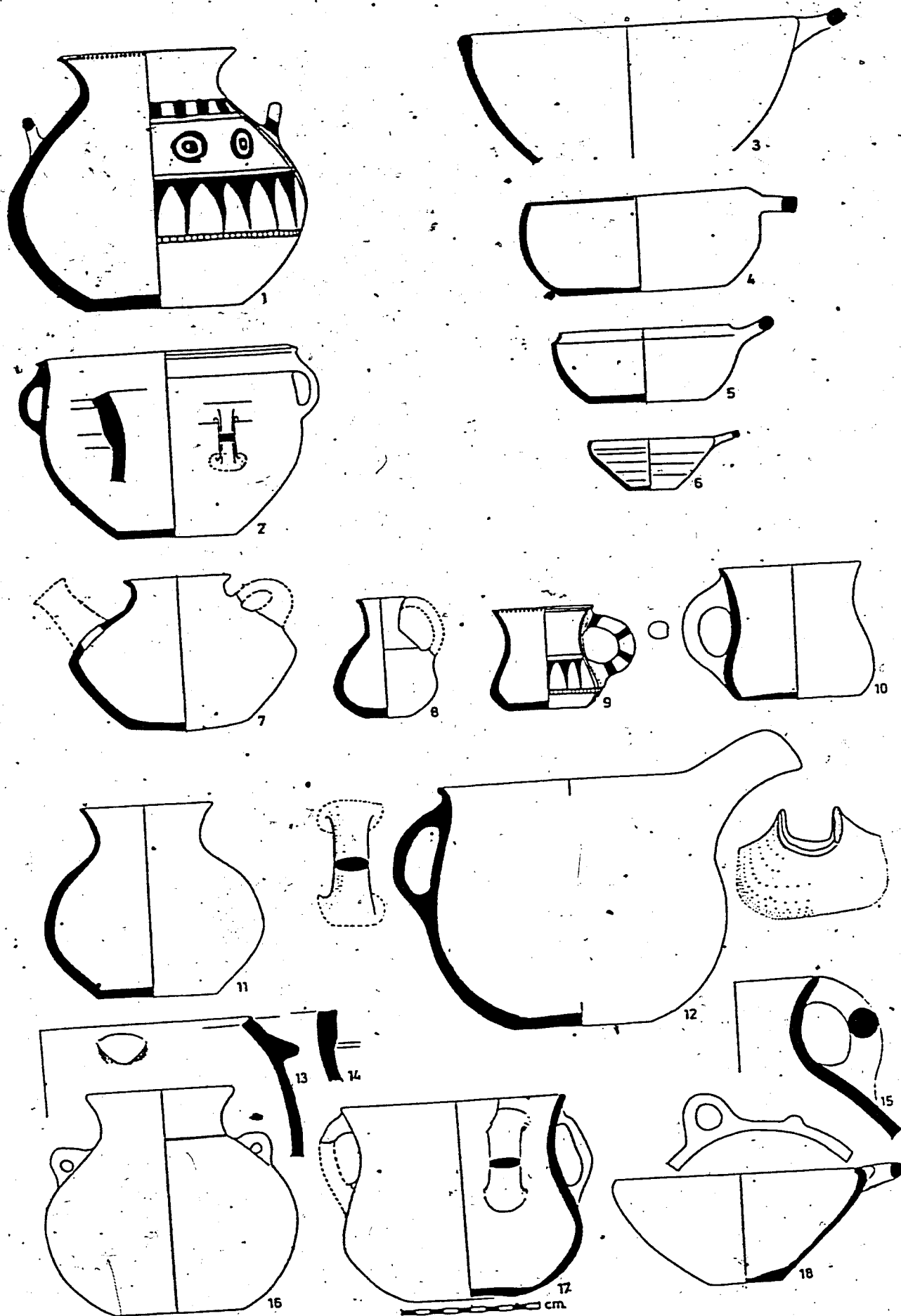


BABA JAN TEPE, PERIODS II & I, EAST MOUND & SONDAGES, POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 51, fig. 9.

FIGURE 21: CATALOGUE

Pottery from the "groom's Kitchen", St. 6, Period IIB (1-12) and the "Carpenter's Shop"; Period IIB, room 1 (13-18).

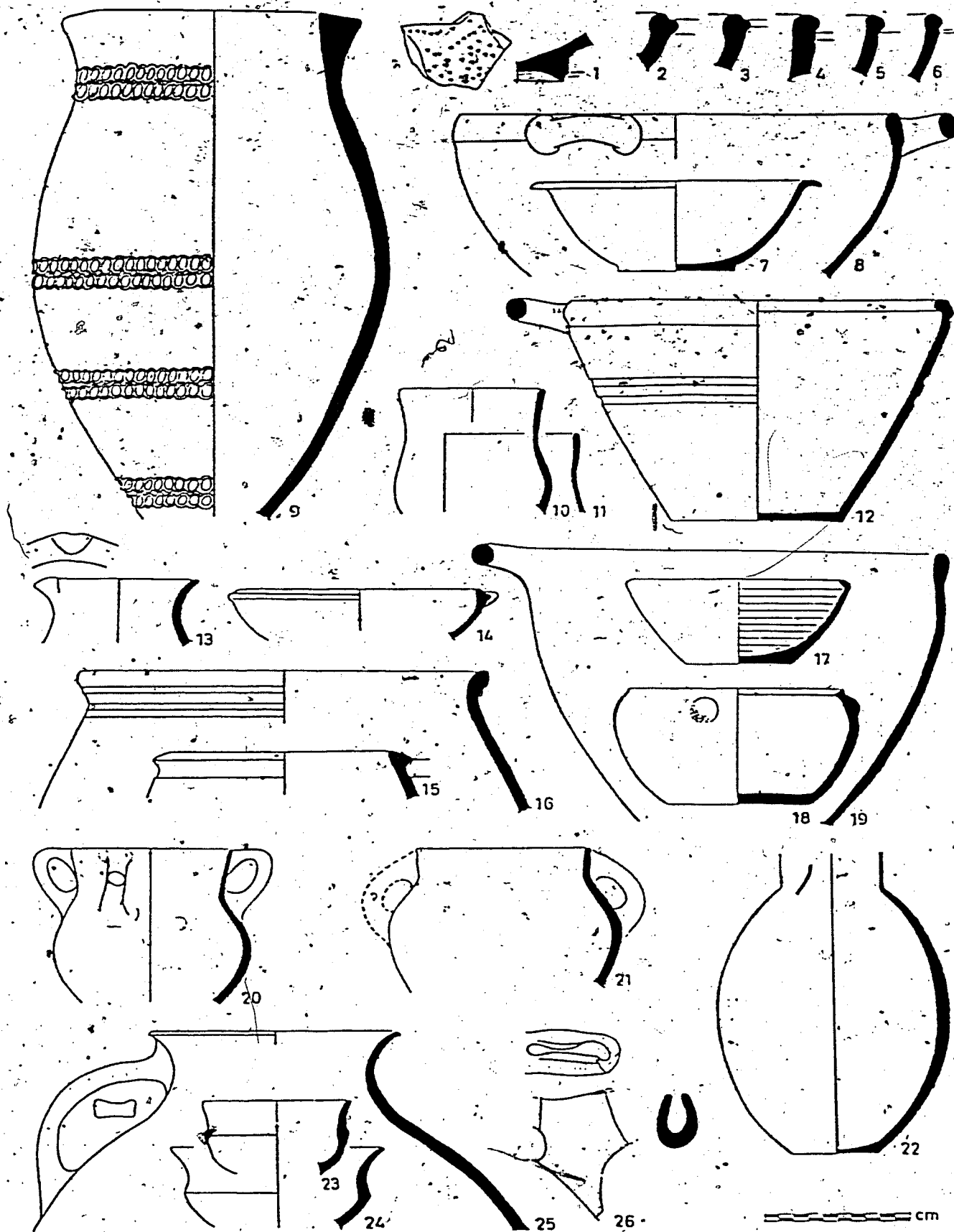
- 1: Common ware; slight burnish; red-brown paint.
- 2: Common ware; burnished; drawn to half scale.
- 3: Imported ware; burnished.
- 4: Common ware.
- 5: Common ware.
- 6: Imported ware; slight burnish.
- 7: Imported ware.
- 8: Imported ware.
- 9: Common ware; cream slip; slight burnish; brown paint.
- 10: Reddish-brown coarse ware.
- 11: Common ware; burnished.
- 12: Common ware; streaky burnish.
- 13: Coarse grey cooking ware.
- 14: Cream heavy Common ware.
- 15: Yellowish Common ware.
- 16: Common ware ? ; lightly polished.
- 17: Common ware ? : burnished.
- 18: Imported ware; burnished.



BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD IIB, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.
Source: Goff, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 52, fig. 10.

FIGURE 22: CATALOGUE

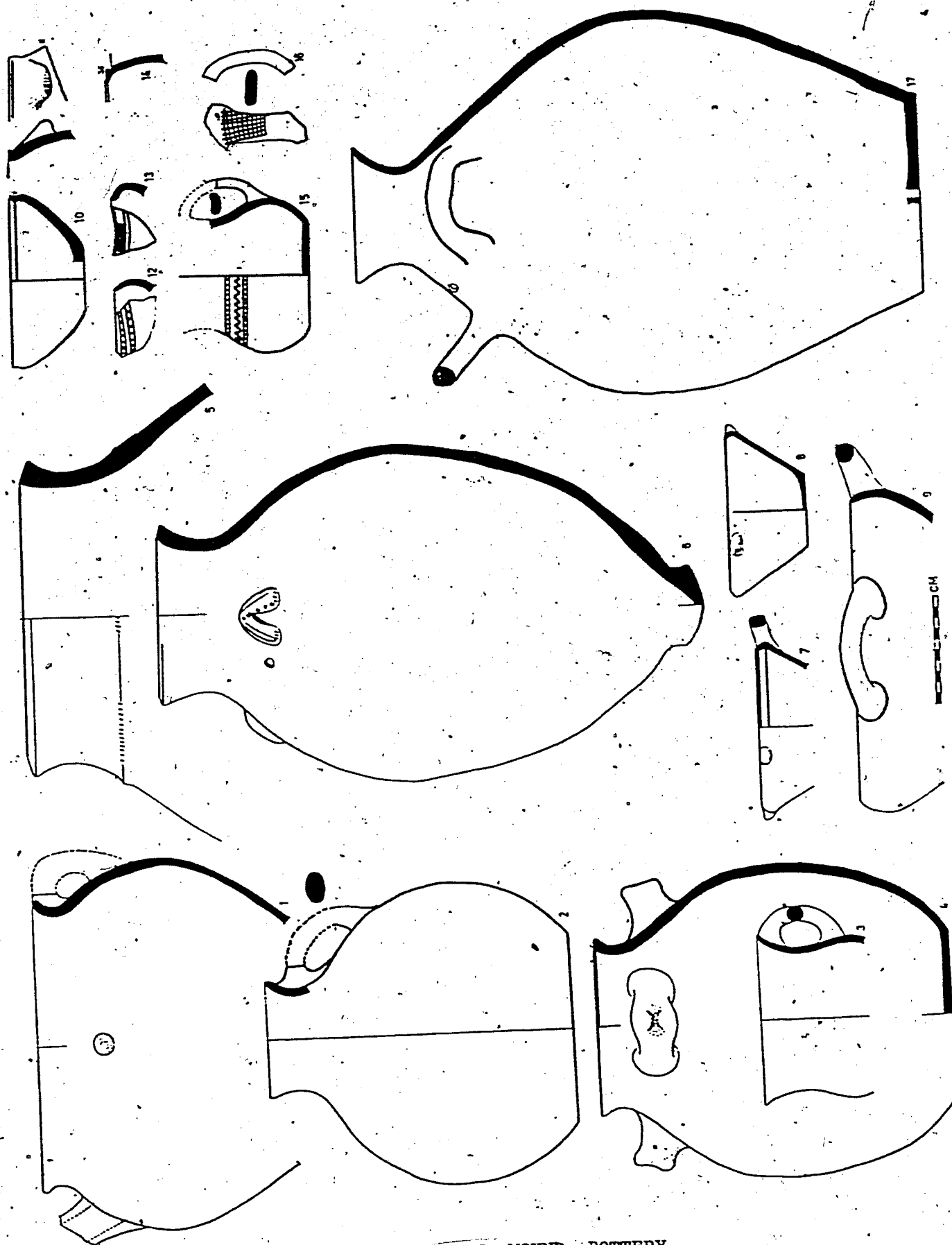
- 1: Buff ware; large grits; room 4, st. 5; period II.
- 2: Buff ware; coarse; room 4, st. 5; period II.
- 3: Buff ware; coarse; room 4, st. 5; period II.
- 4: Grey ware; brown paint; room 4, st. 5; period II.
- 5: Imported ware ?; period II.
- 6: Grey-brown; mica temper; Imported ?; room 4, st. 9; III floor.
- 7: Imported ware; White Room, st. 5; period IIB.
- 8: Imported ware; room 5, st. 4; period II.
- 9: Pithos ware; White Room, st. 6; period II.
- 10: Imported ware; room 4, st. 9; III floor.
- 11: Imported ware; room 4, st. 5-6; period II.
- 12: Imported ware; period IIB ?
- 13: Common ware ?; period II.
- 14: Imported ware ?; period II D/C.
- 15: Imported ware; period IIC.
- 16: Imported ware; period IIB?
- 17: Imported ware; period II.
- 18: Grey-black cooking ware; period IIB.
- 19: Imported ware; period II?
- 20: Imported ware; period IIB ?
- 21: Imported ware; period II ?
- 22: Imported ware; period IIB ?
- 23: Black cooking ware; no provenance.
- 24: Common ware; room 4, st. 5; period II.
- 25: Common ware; period IIA
- 26: Imported ware; thin red slip; period II C-B.



BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD II, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.
 Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 53, fig. 11.

FIGURE 23: CATALOGUE

- 1: Imported ware; period IIA?
- 2: Coarse cooking ware; period IIA?
- 3: Imported ware; period IIA.
- 4: Coarse cooking ware; period IIA.
- 5: Pithos ware; period II D/C.
- 6: Heavy Common ware; period II D/C.
- 7: Imported ware; period IIA.
- 8: Imported ware; period IIA.
- 9: Imported ware ?; period IIA ?
- 10: Coarse Common ware; period IIA.
- 11: Heavy Common ware; period IIA.
- 12: Common ware; brown paint; period IIA.
- 13: Common ware; brown paint; period IIA.
- 14: Coarse cooking ware; period IIA.
- 15: Common ware; period IIA.
- 16: Common ware; red paint; period IIA.
- 17: Heavy Common ware; unstratified.

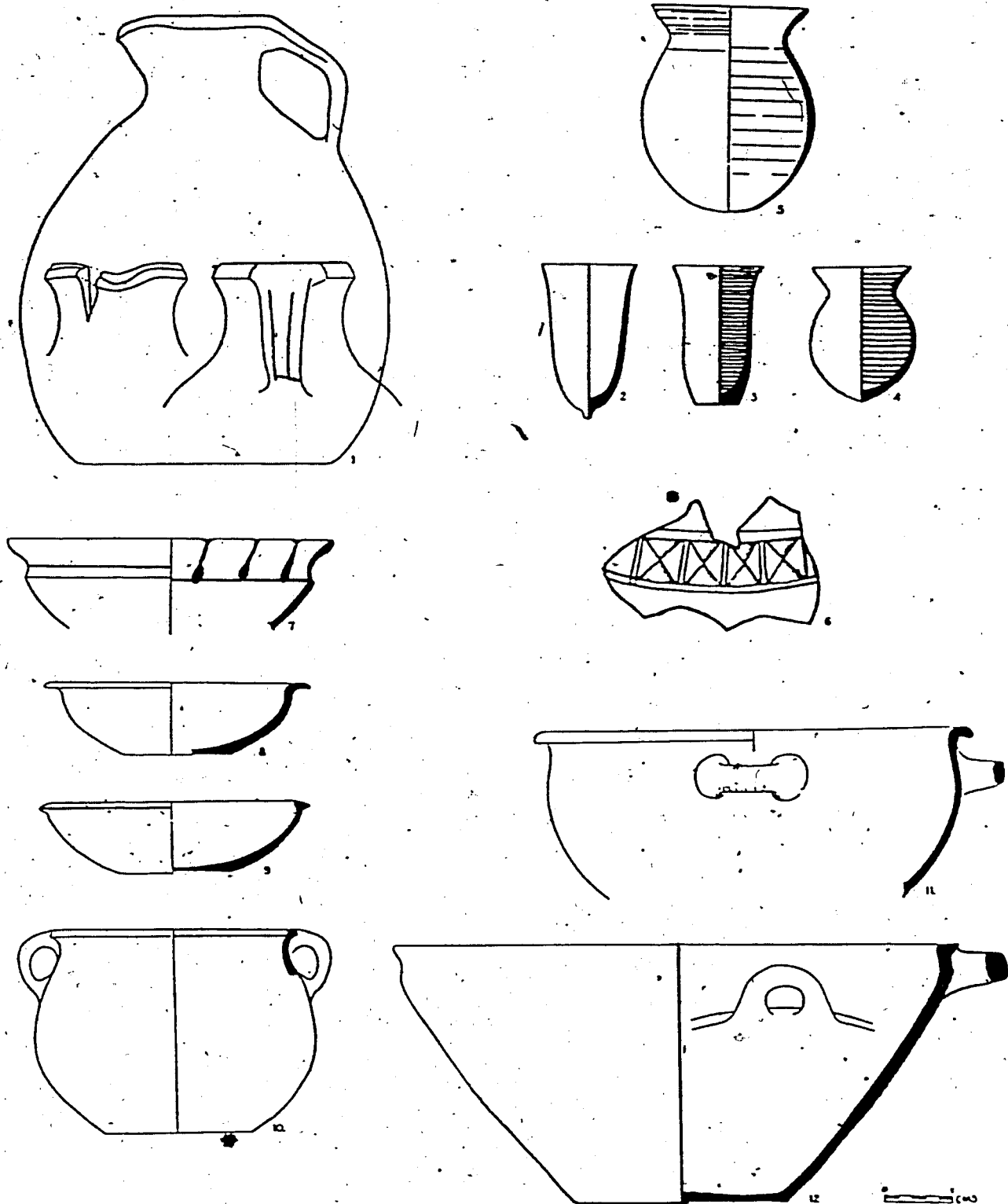


BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD II, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.
Source: Goff, *Iran*, 16 (1978); p. 54, fig. 12.

FIGURE 24: CATALOGUE

All East Mound, period I.

- 1-5: Imported ware.
- 6: Fine red ware; highly burnished; purple paint.
- 7: Metallic, gritty buff ware; red paint.

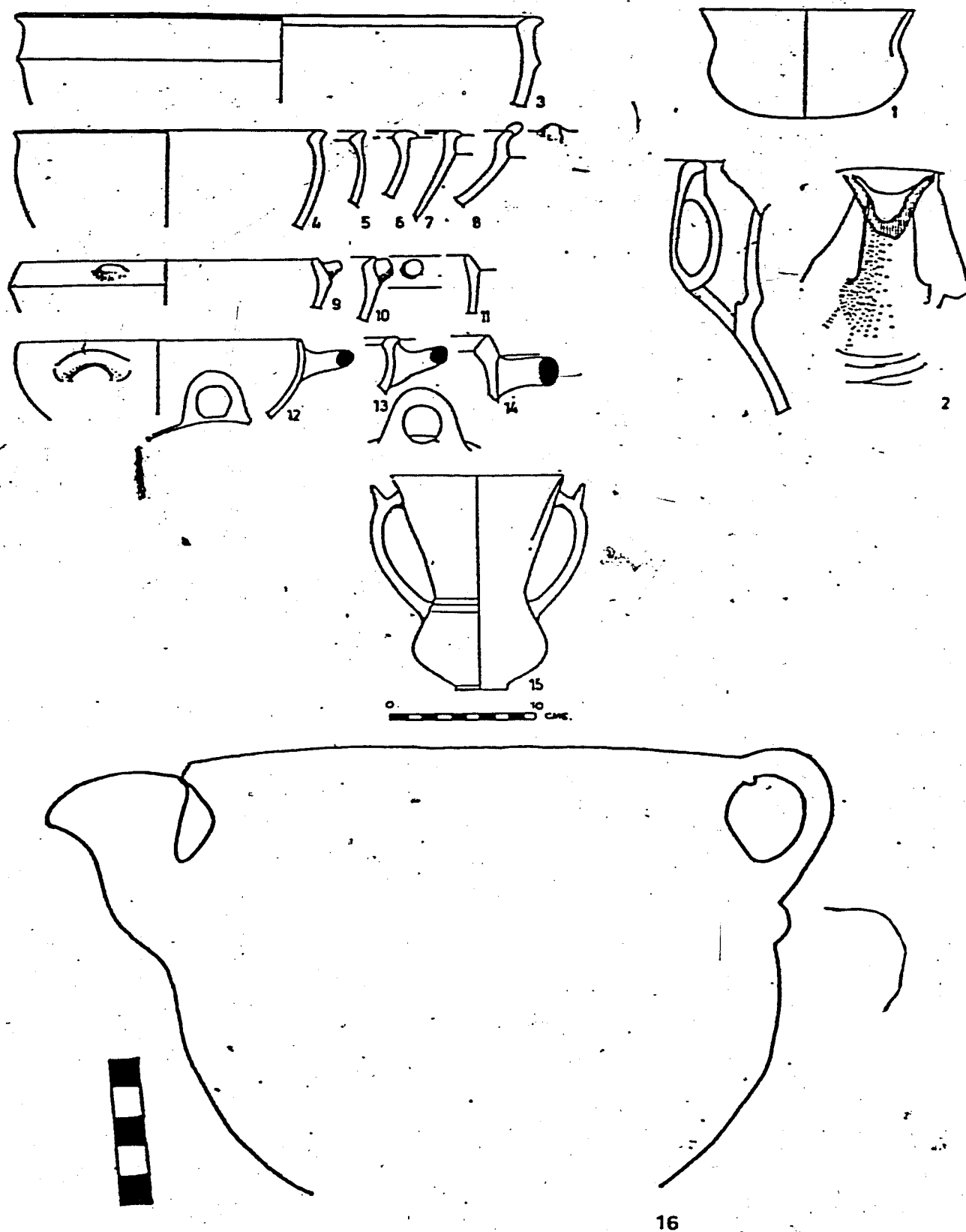


BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD I, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.

Source: Goff, *Iran*, 8 (1970), p. 154, fig. 8.

FIGURE 25: CATALOGUE

All examples are Common ware from period I.



BABA JAN TEPE, PERIOD I, EAST MOUND, POTTERY.
 Sources: nos. 1-15, Goff, *Iran*, 6 (1968), p. 122; fig. 10.
 no. 16, drawn from Goff, *Iran*, 6 (1968), pl. IVc..

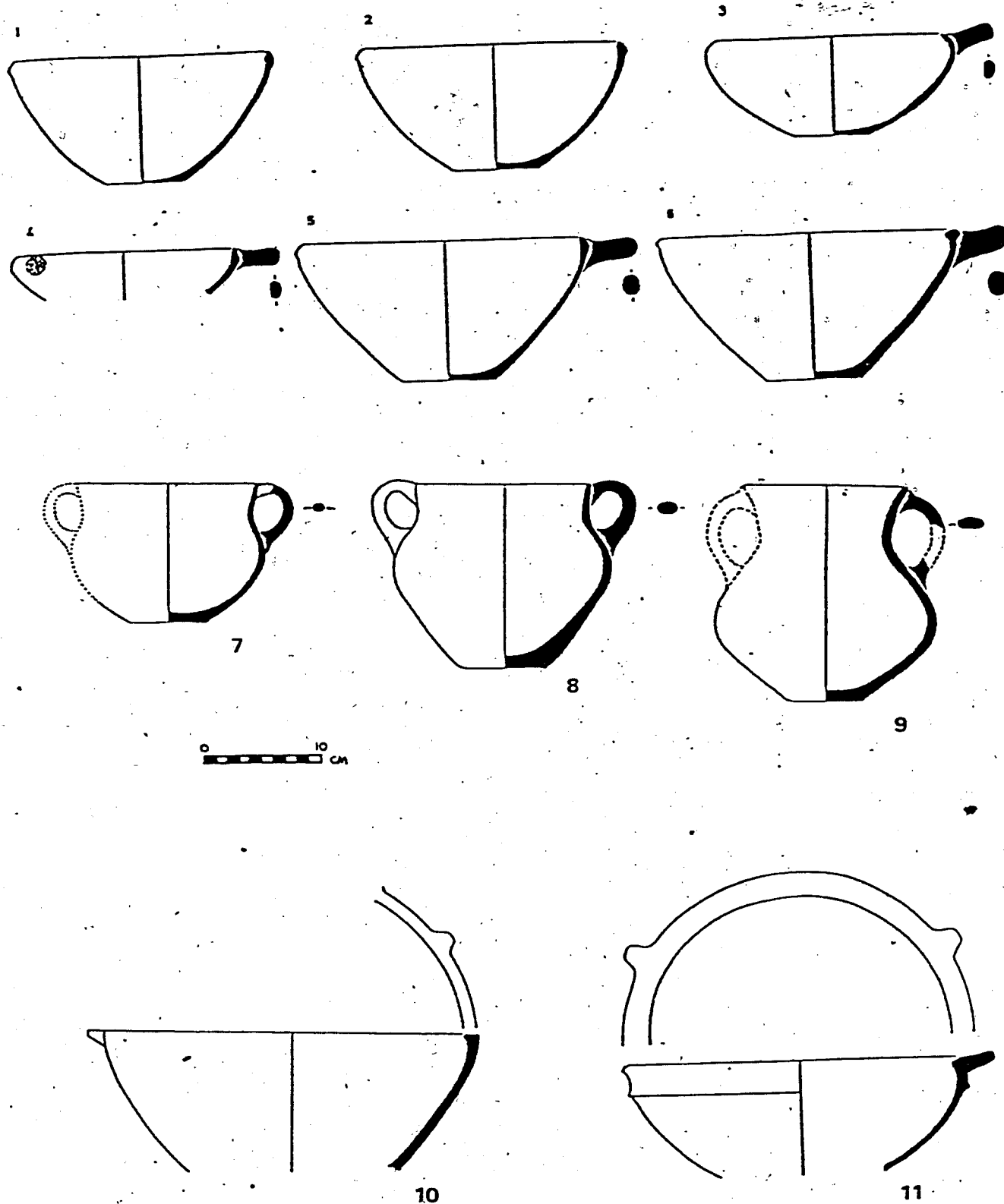
FIGURE 26: CATALOGUE

Common ware small bowls. Provenances given below.

- 1: F 10 West, room 40.
- 2: F 10 West, room 40.
- 3: F 10 West, room 40.
- 4: S 9, room 11, upper brick collapse.
- 5: F 10 West, room 40.
- 6: F 10 West, room 40.
- 7: N 9, room 1, floor.
- 8: N 11, from fill of arrowslot.
- 9: S 9, room 11, upper brick collapse.
- 10: M 8, room 1, lower stone fill.
- 11: F 10 West, room 40.

FIGURE 26

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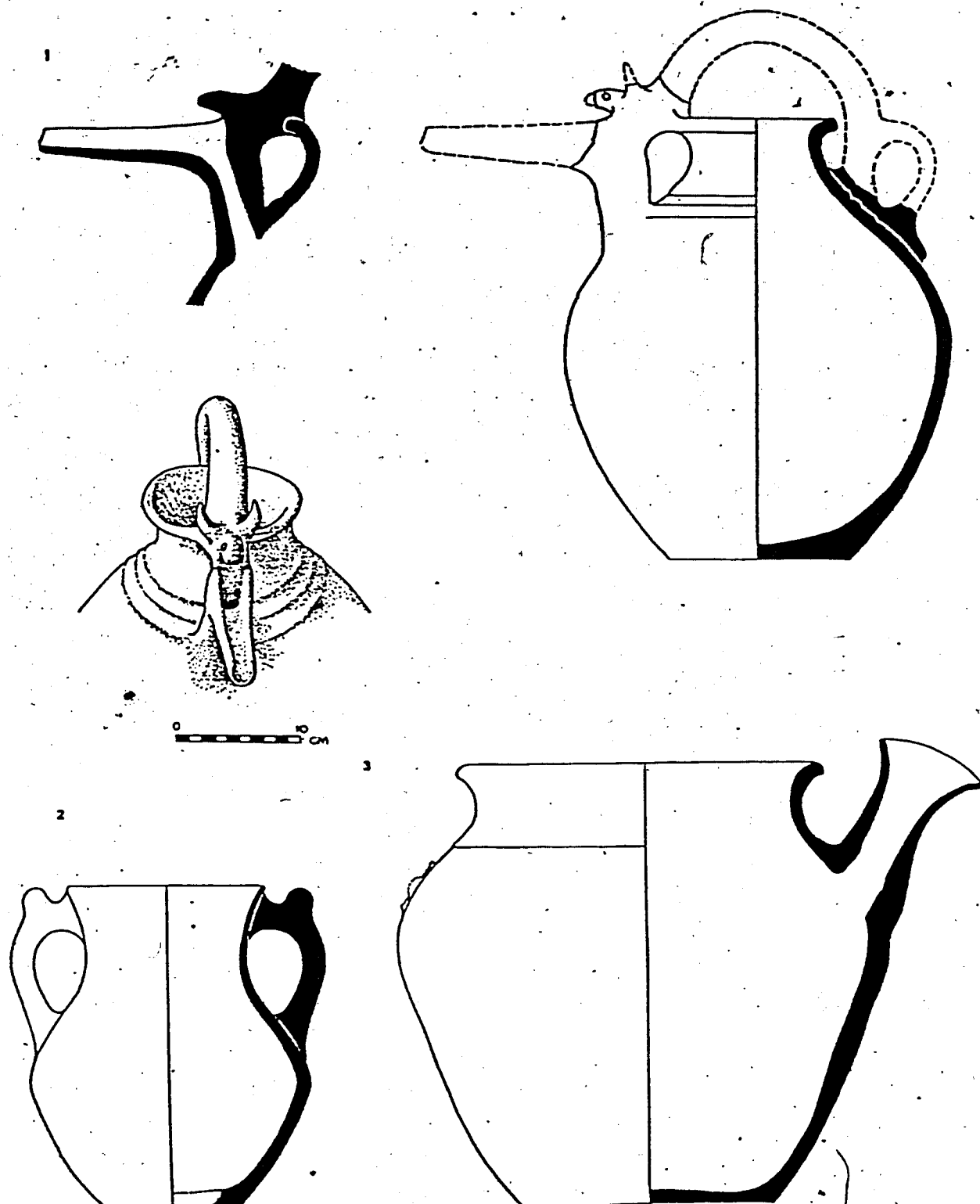


TEPE NUSH-I JAN, PERIOD I, POTTERY.
Source: D. Stronach, *Iran*, 7 (1969), p. 17, fig. 6.

FIGURE 27: CATALOGUE

Common ware jars. Details on provenance given below.

- 1: R 12, level 2, from mudbrick collapse.
- 2: R 12, level 2, from mudbrick collapse.
- 3: N 11, level 2.



TEPE.NUSH-I JAN, PERIOD I, POTTERY.

Source: D. Stronach, *Iran*, 7 (1969), p. 18, fig. 7.

FIGURE 28: CATALOGUE

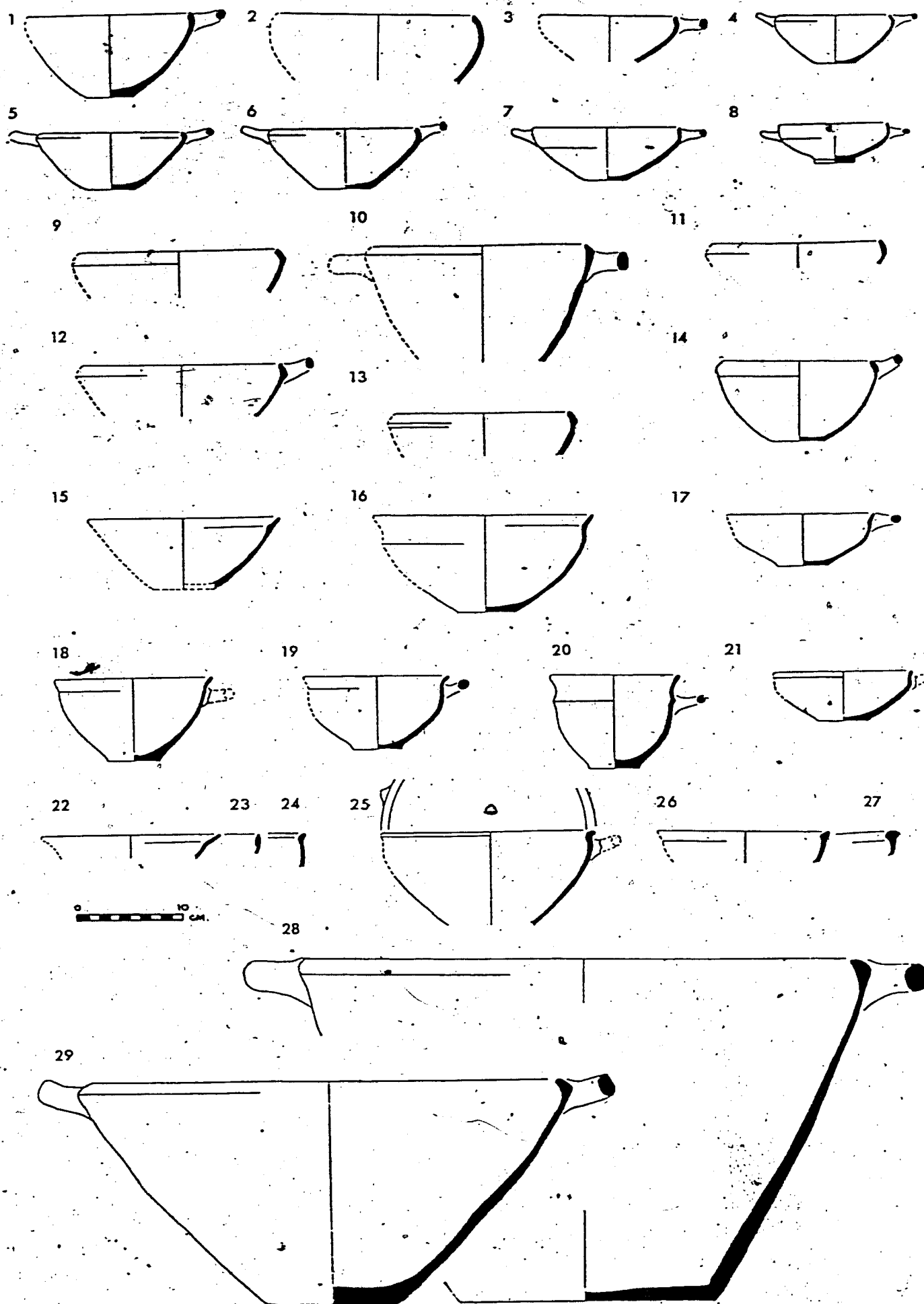
Common ware bowls from the fallen floor, room 18, Fort.

1-27: Common ware small bowls.

28-29: Common ware large bowls.

FIGURE 28

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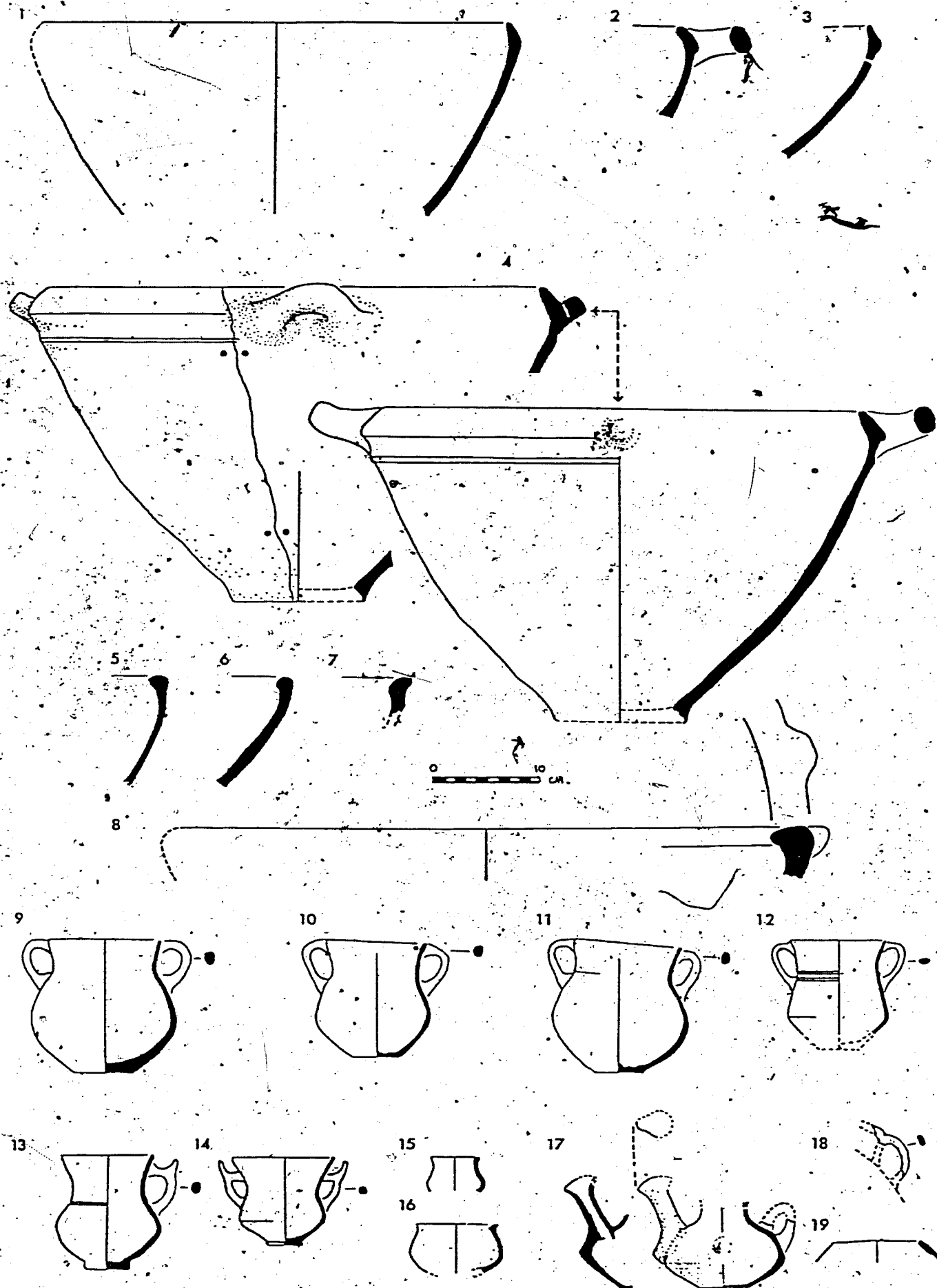
TEPE NUSH-I JAN, PERIOD I, POTTERY.

Source: R. Stronach, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 17, fig. 6.

FIGURE 29: CATALOGUE

Common ware vessels from the fallen floor, room 18, Fort:

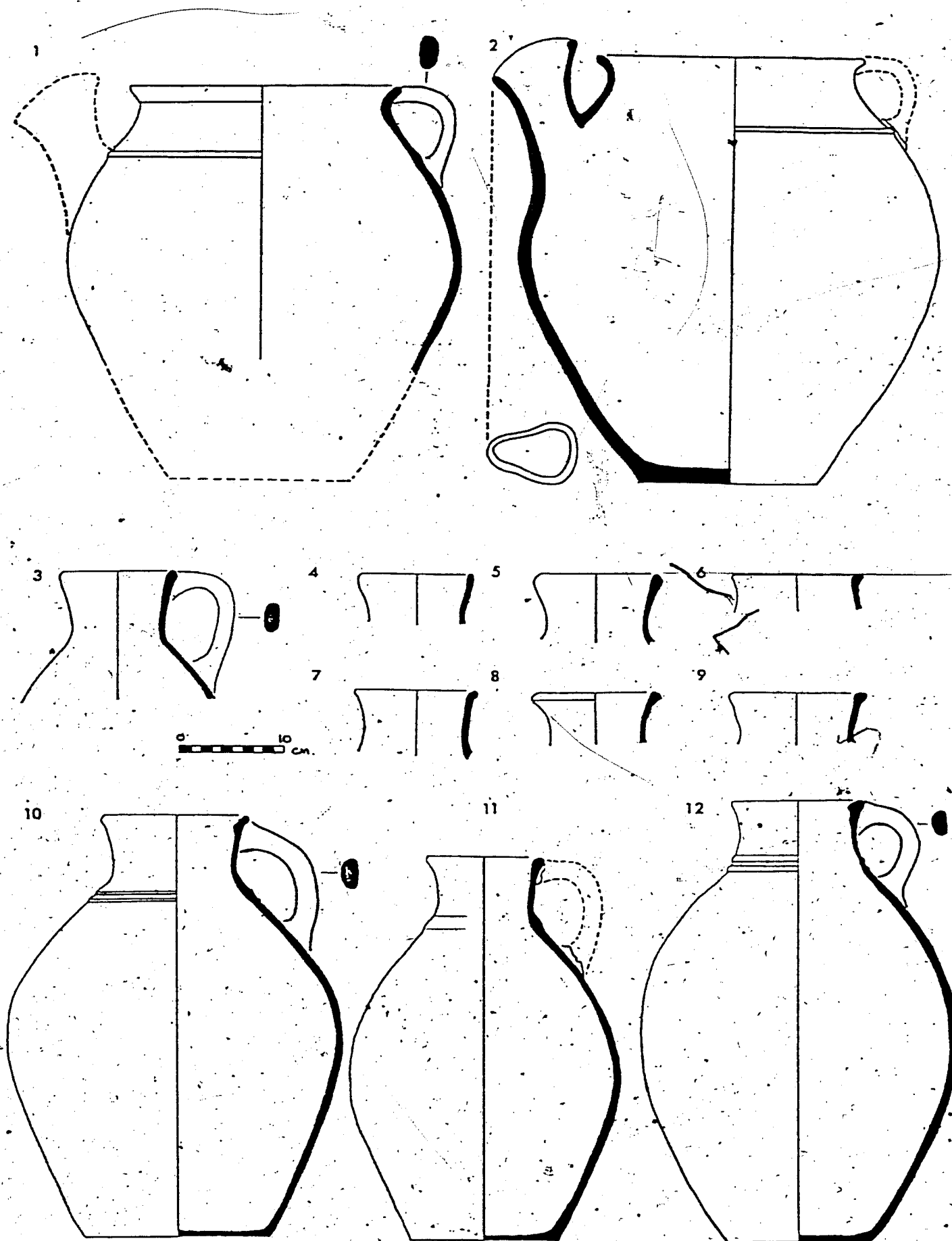
- 1-8: Common ware large bowls.
- 9-16: Common ware pots.
- 17-18: Common ware jar and handle.
- 19: Common ware pot.



TEPE NUSH-I JAN, PERIOD I, POTTERY.
 Source: R. Stronach, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 18, fig. 7.

FIGURE 30: CATALOGUE

Common ware large jars from the fallen floor, room 18, Fort.



TEPE NUSH-I JAN, PERIOD I, POTTERY.

Source: R. Stronach, *Iran*, 16 (1978), p. 19, fig. 8.

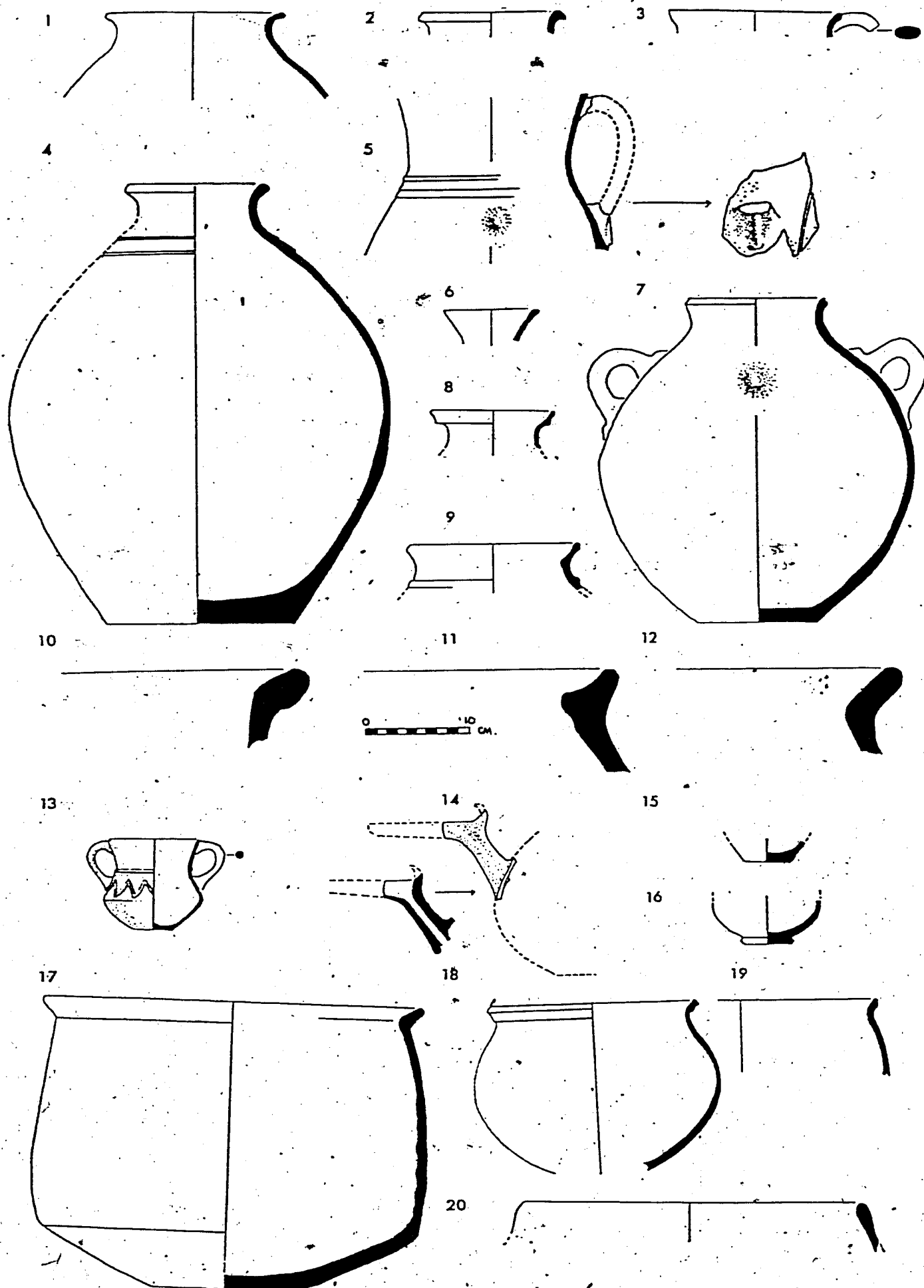
FIGURE 31: CATALOGUE

Vessels from the fallen floor, room 18, Fort.

1-12: Common ware large jars.

13-16: Grey ware; various forms.

17-20: Cooking ware pots.



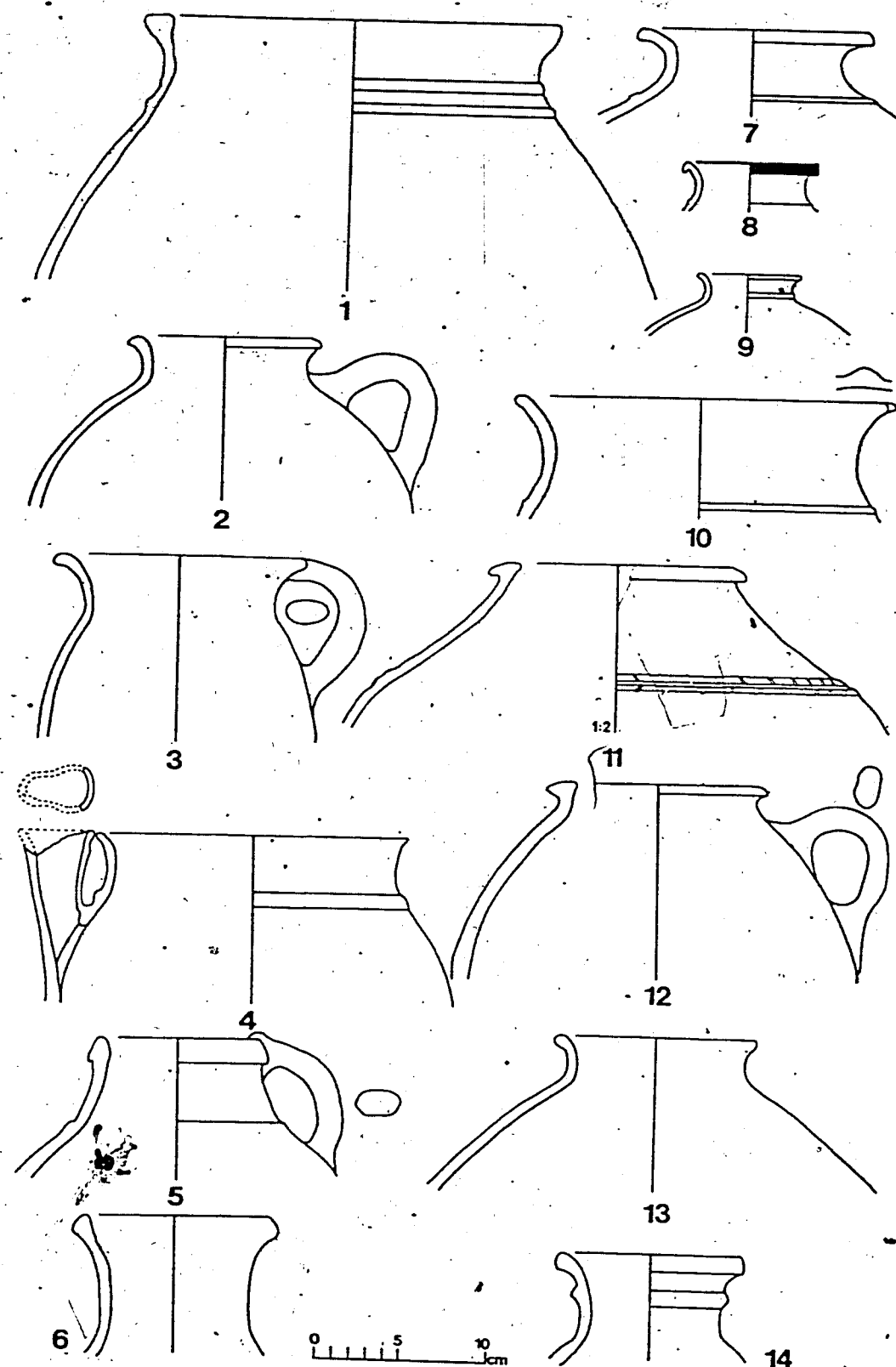
TEPE NUSH-I JAN, PERIOD I, POTTERY.

Source: R. Stronach, Iran, 16 (1978), p. 20, fig. 9.

FIGURE 32: CATALOGUE

All plain-buff common ware vessels except for no. 11.

11. Red-slipped and burnished common ware.



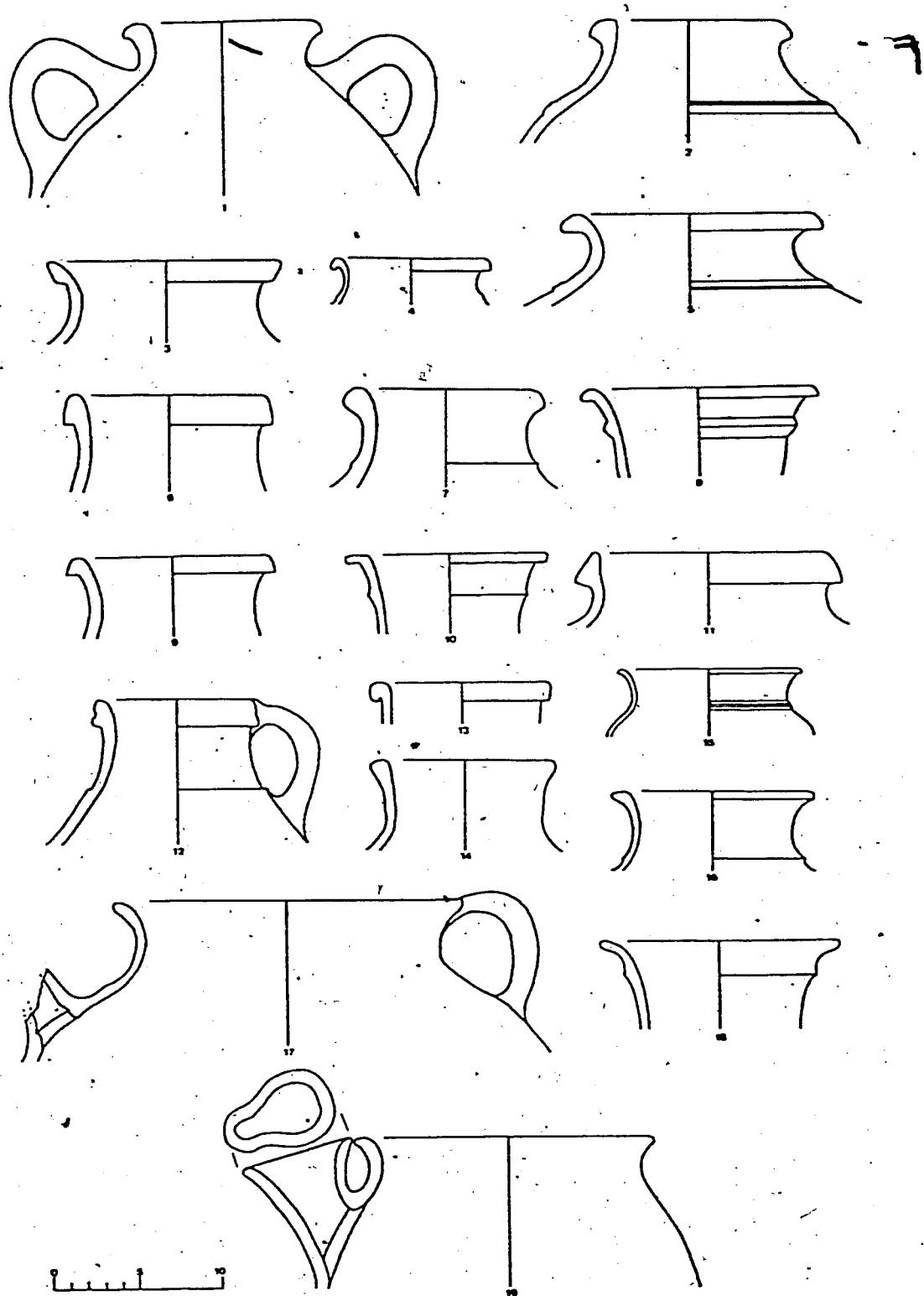
GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr. and L.D. Levine,
Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress
Report (Toronto, 1974), p. 125, fig. 44.

FIGURE 33: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff common ware except for the following.

- 4: Plain buff fine ware.
- 15: Plain buff fine ware.
- 17: Similar to Achaemenid Dark-faced burnished ware.

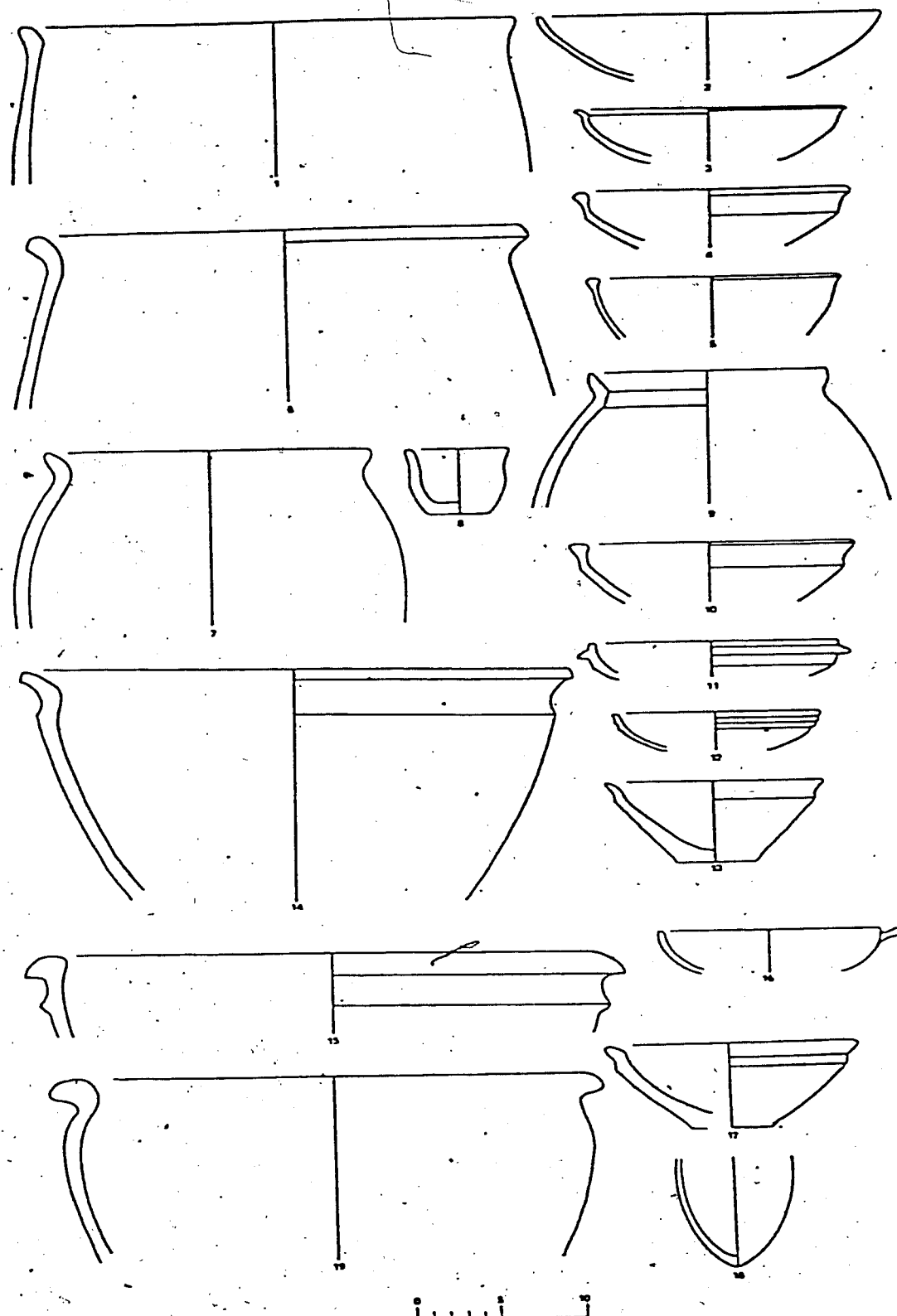


GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr., Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report (Toronto, 1969), p. 121, fig. 43.

FIGURE 34: CATALOGUE

- 1: Coarse ware.
- 2: Plain buff fine ware.
- 3: Plain buff, fine ware.
- 4: Plain buff, common ware.
- 5: Plain buff, common ware.
- 6: Coarse ware.
- 7: Coarse ware.
- 8: Coarse ware.
- 9: Coarse ware.
- 10: Plain buff common ware.
- 11: Grey fine ware.
- 12: Brown fine ware.
- 13: Plain buff common ware.
- 14: Plain buff common ware.
- 15: Plain buff common ware.
- 16: Brown fine ware.
- 17: Plain buff common ware.
- 18: Plain buff fine ware.
- 19: Plain buff common ware.



GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr., Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report (Toronto, 1969), p. 119, fig. 42.

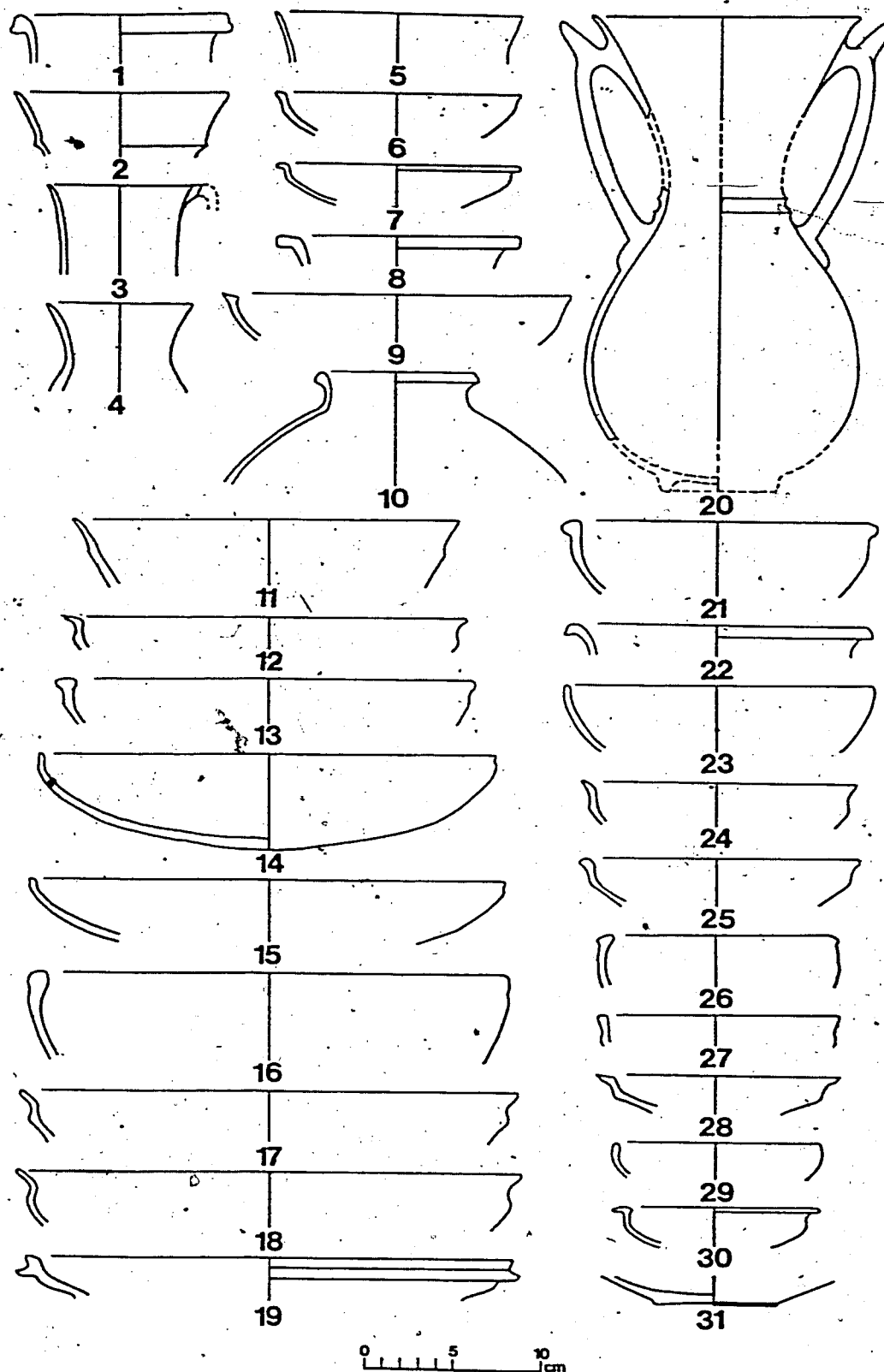
FIGURE 35: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff fine ware except for the following.

- 10: Red slipped fine ware.
- 12: Grey fine ware.
- 30: Red slipped fine ware.

FIGURE 35

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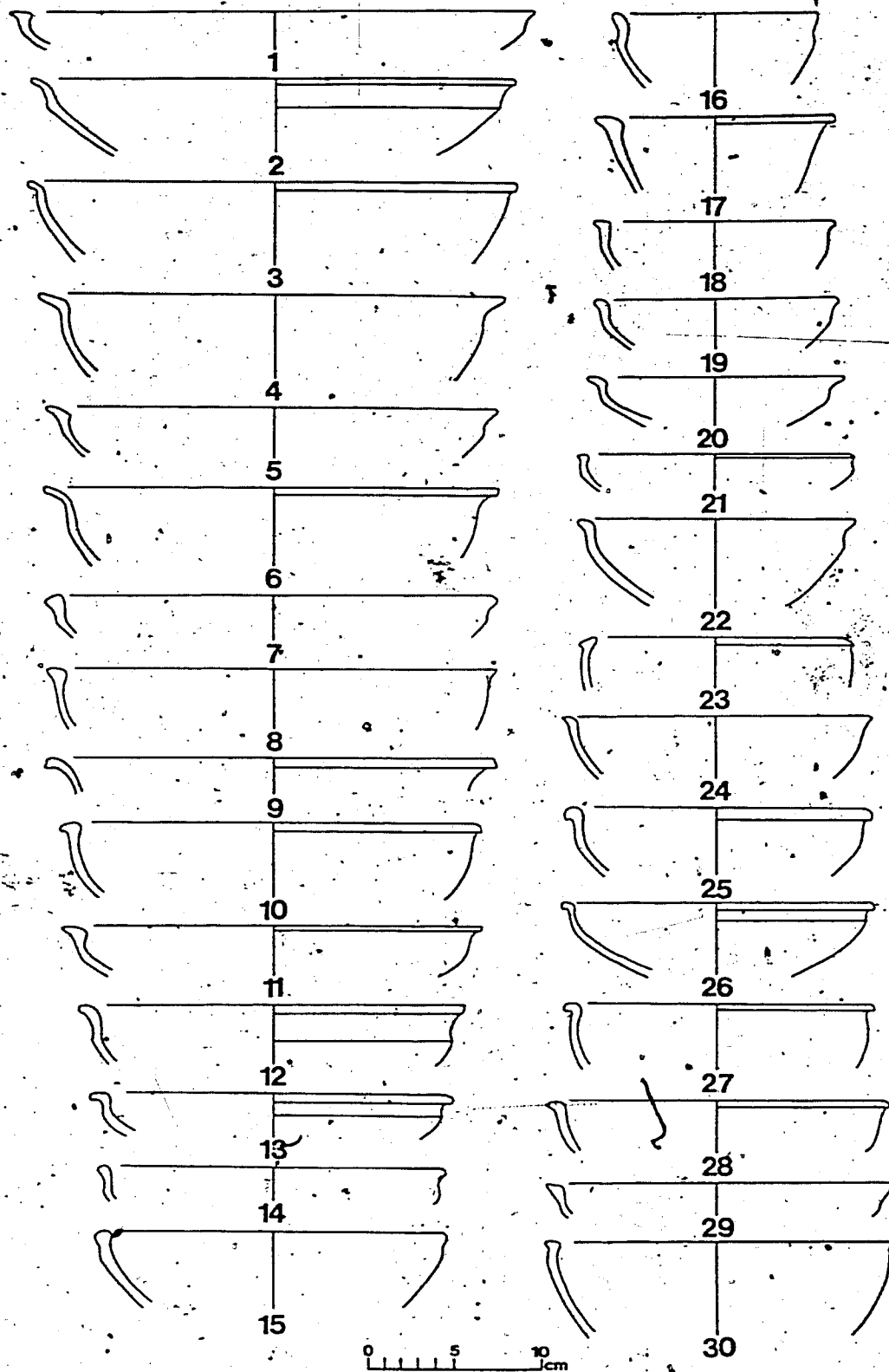
GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr. and L.D. Levine
Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress
Report (Toronto, 1974), p. 127, fig. 45.

FIGURE 36: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff common ware except for the following.

- 1: Plain buff fine ware.
- 4: Plain buff fine ware.
- 5: Brown fine ware.
- 7: Brown fine ware.
- 9: Plain buff fine ware.
- 24: Plain buff fine ware.
- 26: Red slipped common ware..



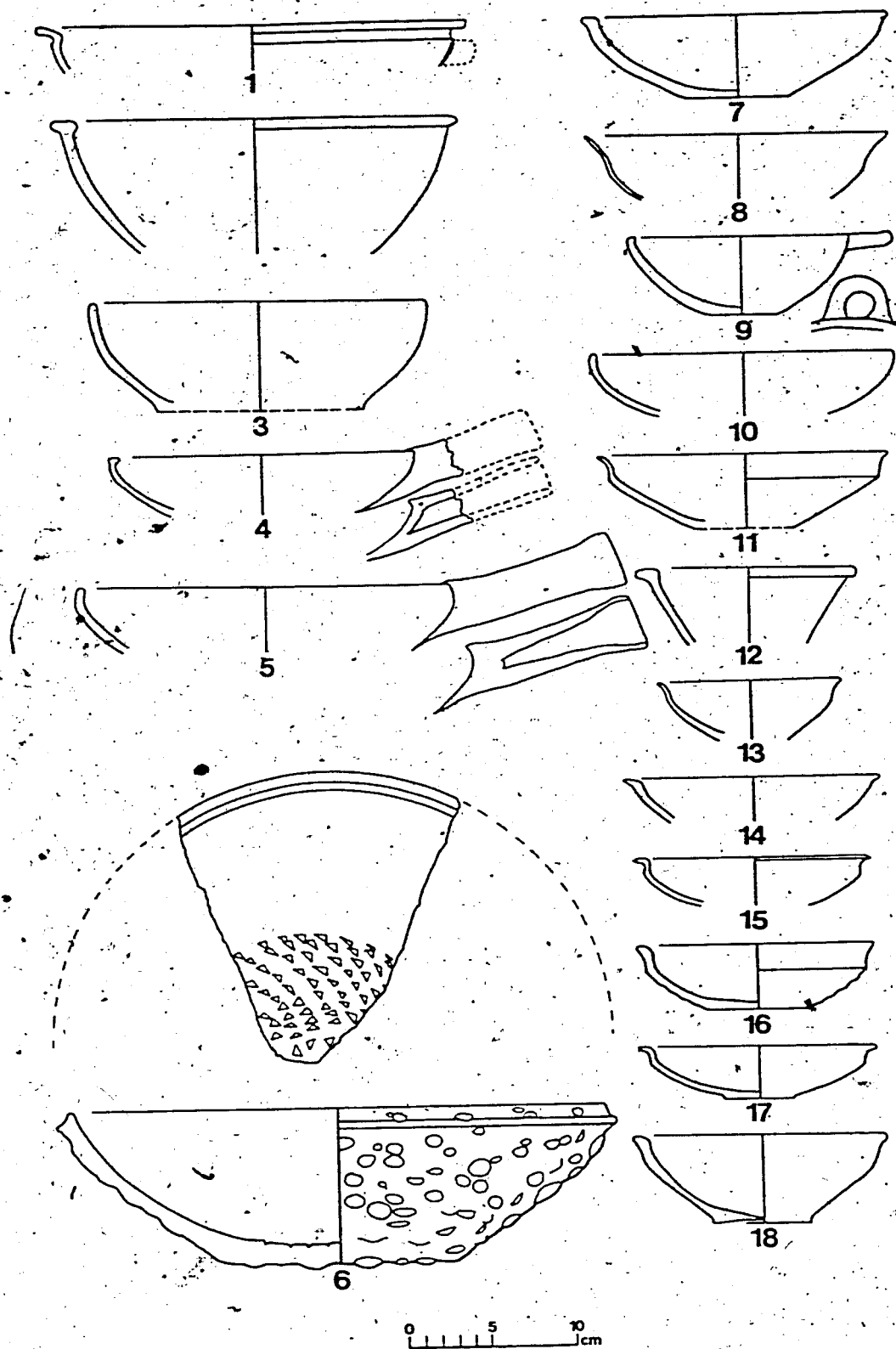
GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr. and L.D. Levine,
Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress
Report (Toronto, 1974), p. 129, fig. 46.

FIGURE 37: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff common ware except for the following.

- 3: Red slipped common ware.
- 4: Plain buff ~~fine~~ ware.
- 8: Plain buff fine ware.
- 10: Red slipped fine ware.
- 17: Plain buff fine ware.



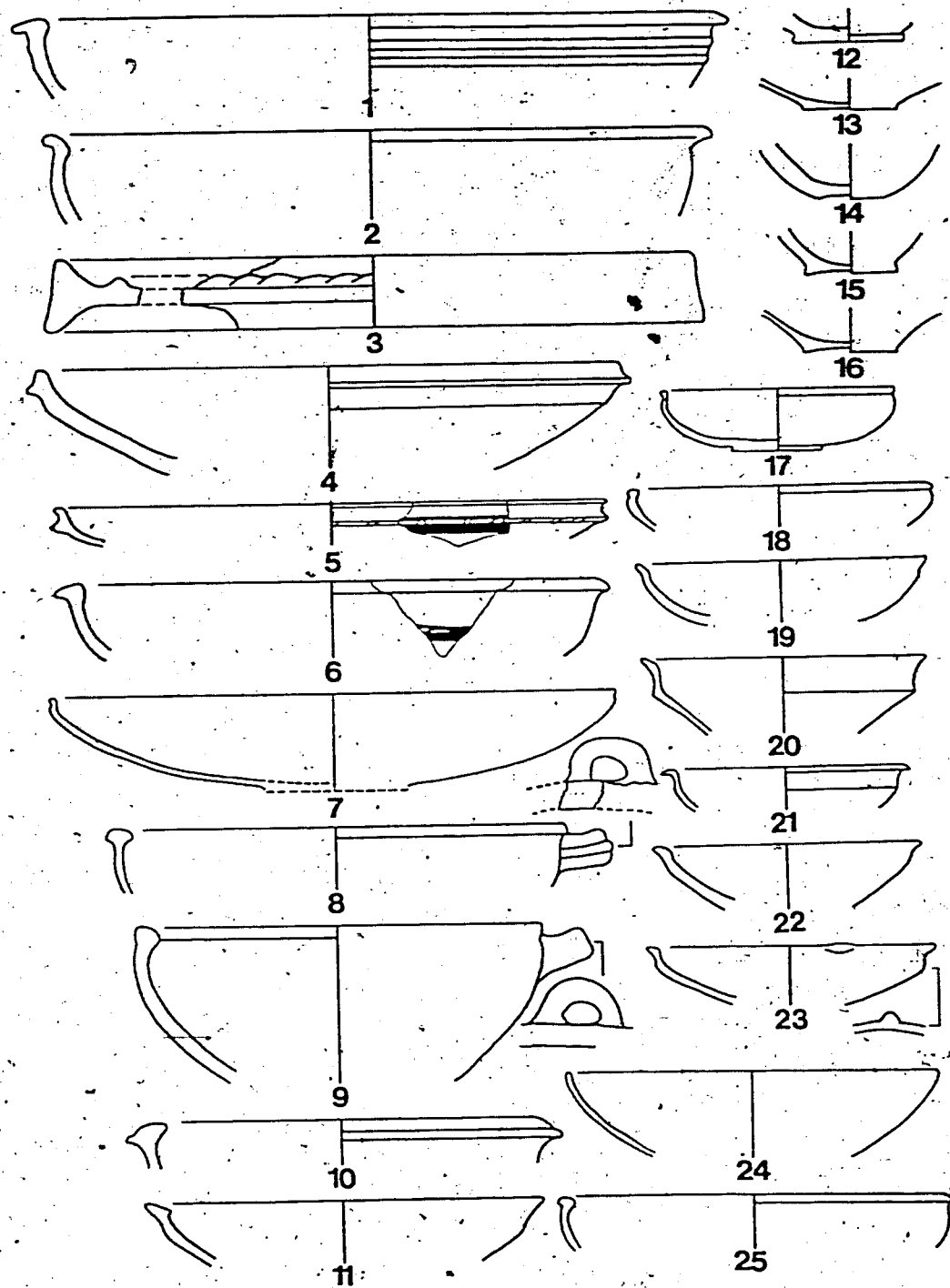
GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr. and L.D. Levine,
Excavations of the Godin Project: Second
Progress Report (Toronto, 1974), p. 131, fig. 47.

FIGURE 38: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff common ware except for the following.

- 17: Grey fine ware.
- 21: Plain buff fine ware.
- 24: Red slipped common ware.



0 5 10 cm

GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

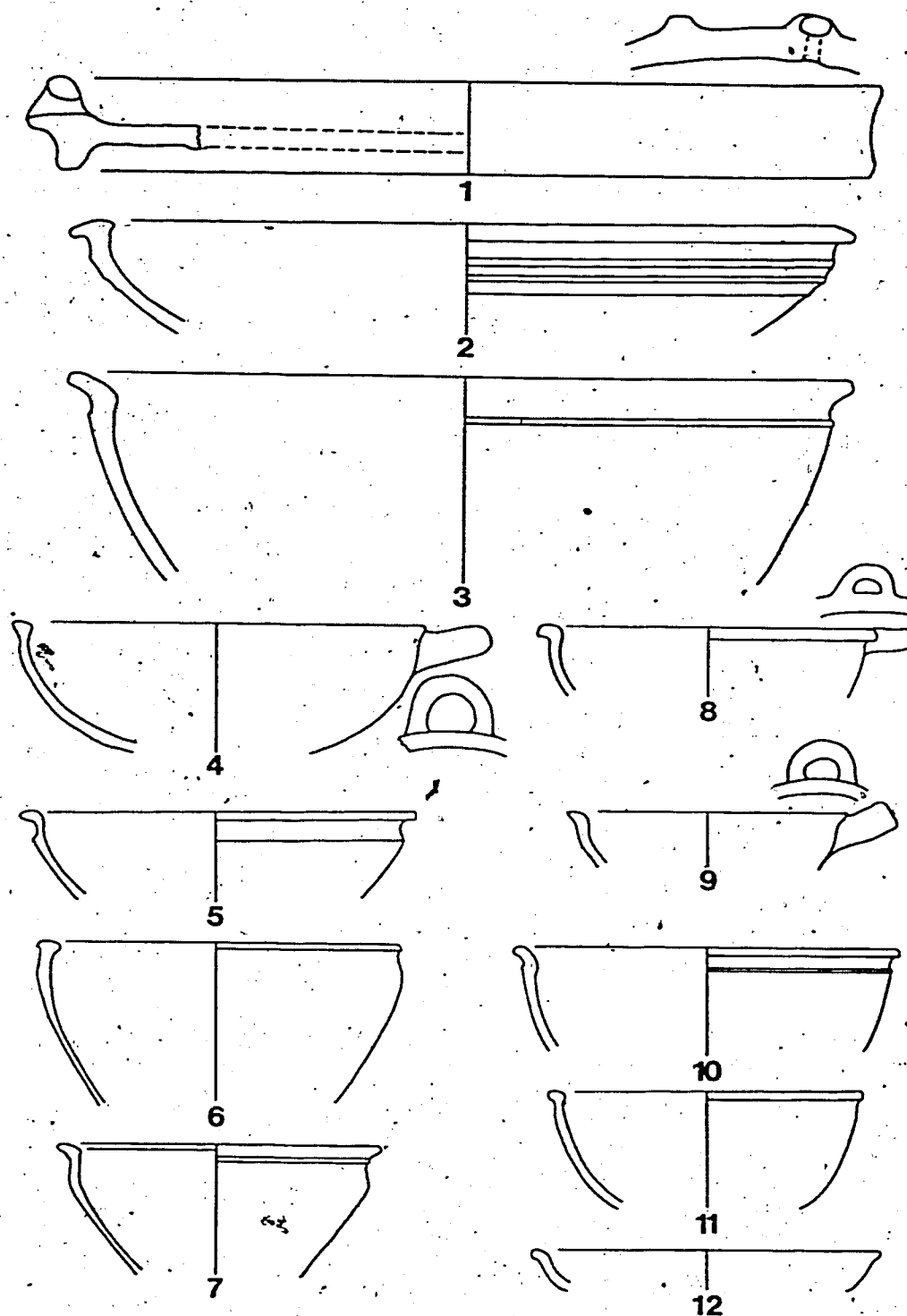
Source: T.C. Young, Jr. and L.D. Levine,
Excavations of the Godin Progress: Second
Progress Report (Toronto, 1974), p. 133, fig. 48.

FIGURE 39: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff common ware except for the following.

11: Red slipped common ware.

12: Plain buff fine ware.



0 5 10 cm

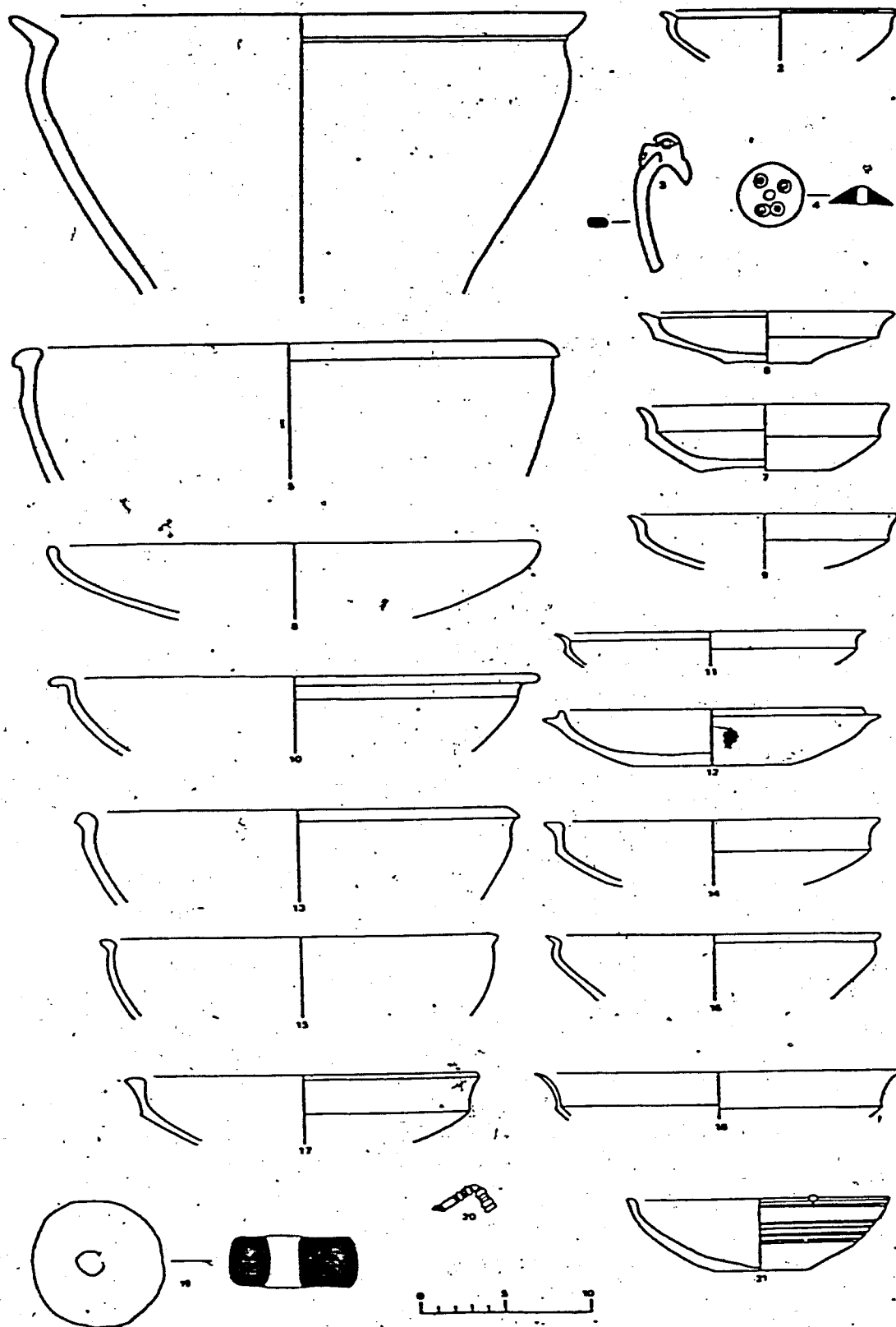
GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr. and L.D. Levine,
Excavations of the Godin Project: Second
Progress Report (Toronto, 1974), p. 135, fig. 49.

FIGURE 40: CATALOGUE

All examples are plain buff common ware except for the following.

- 2: Brown fine ware.
- 3: Plain buff fine ware; bird-head vessel handle.
- 4: Perforated stone button.
- 5: Red slipped common ware.
- 11: Plain buff fine ware.
- 13: Red slipped common ware.
- 18: Plain buff fine ware.
- 19: Clay doughnut (loom weight?).
- 20: Bronze fibula, spring missing, hand catch broken.
- 21: Brown fine ware.

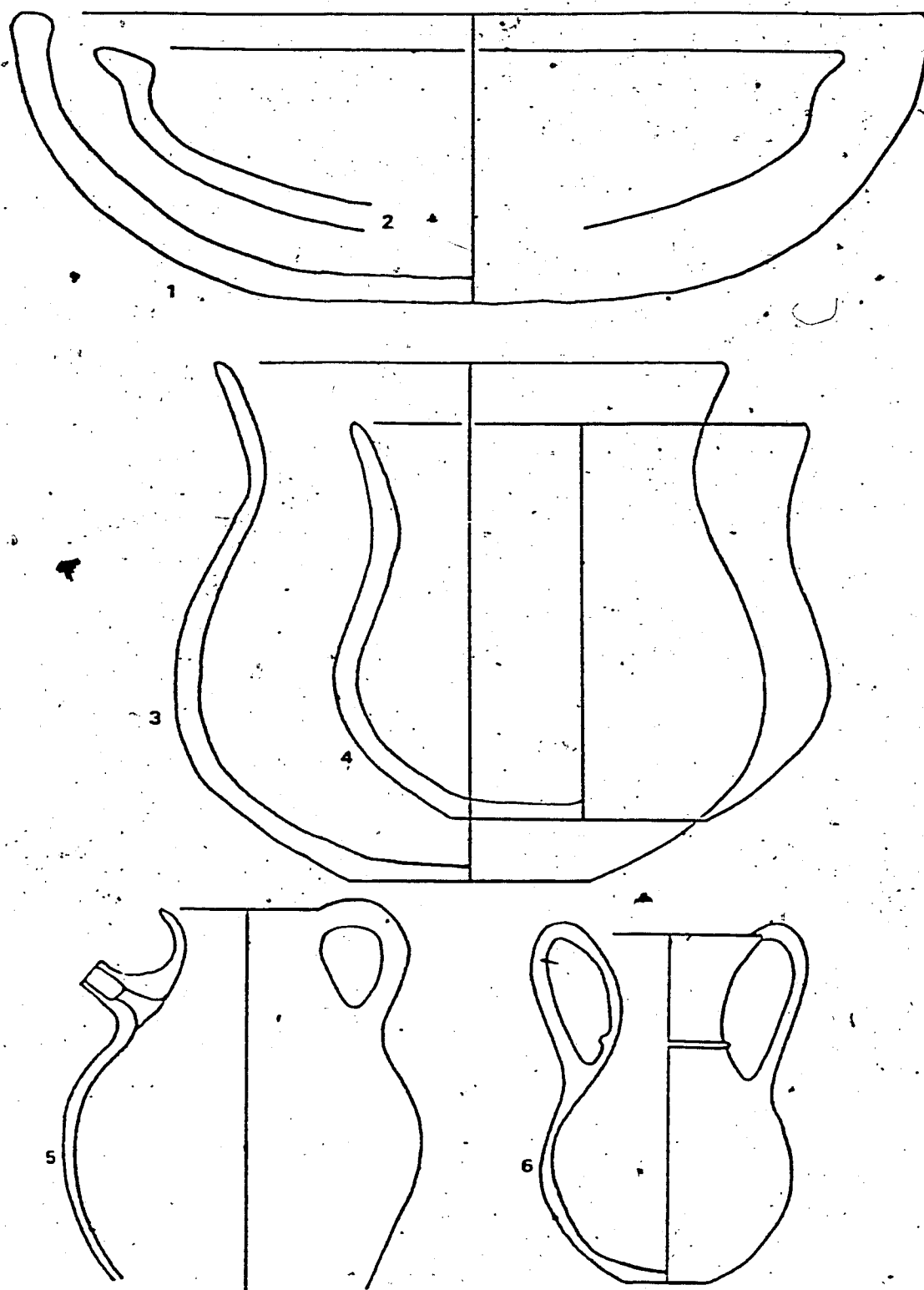


GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: T.C. Young, Jr., Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report (Toronto, 1969),
p. 123, fig. 44.

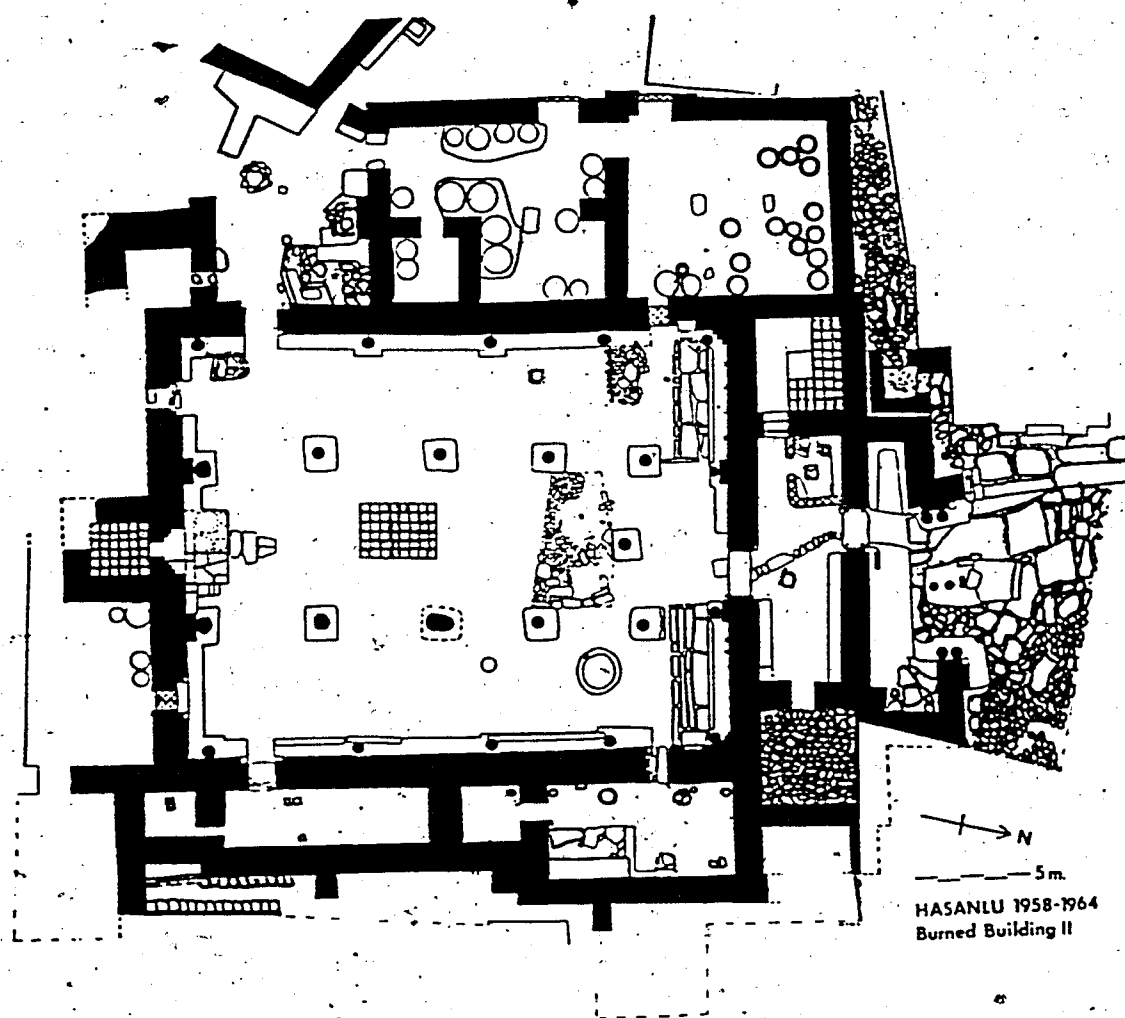
FIGURE 41: CATALOGUE

- 1: Plain buff common ware; H = 5.3 cm.; D = 16.4 cm. (Gd.73-107).
- 2: Plain buff common ware; H = 3.3 cm.; D = 13.3 cm. (Gd.73-226).
- 3: Plain buff fine ware; H = 9.5 cm.; D = 9.1 cm. (Gd.73-229).
- 4: Plain buff fine ware; H = 7.3 cm.; D = 8.2 cm. (Gd.73-224).
- 5: Plain buff common ware; H = 25.0 cm.; rim D = 12.0 cm. (Gd.73-104).
- 6: Plain buff fine ware; H = 12.8 cm.; rim D = 8.0 cm. (Gd.73-187).



GODIN TEPE, PERIOD II, POTTERY.

Source: unpublished field drawings, West Asian
Department, Royal Ontario Museum,
Toronto (courtesy T.C. Young, Jr.).



HASANLU TEPE IVB, BURNED BUILDING II
Source: Dyson, JNES, 24 (1965), pl.XXXIV.

The following sigla and abbreviations have been used:

- () Brackets enclosing a reference indicate a weak parallel.
- unpub. +
ref. A specific parallel has been cited in the reference but the piece remains unpublished.
- A Agrab Tepe
O. W. Muscarella, "Excavations at Agrab Tepe, Iran," MMJ, 8 (1973), fig. and no.
- AV Achaemenid Village
R. Ghirshman, Village perse-achéménide (Paris, 1954), period, fig. and no.
- B Bastam
S. Kroll, Keramik urartäischer Festungen in Iran (Berlin, 1976), fig. and no.
- D Dinkha Tepe
O. W. Muscarella, "The Iron Age at Dinkha Tepe, Iran," MMJ, 9 (1974), period, fig. and no.
- Dyson, 1965 Hasanlu Tepe
R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Problems of protohistoric Iran as seen from Hasanlu," JNES, 24 (1965), fig. and no.
- G Tepe Giyan
G. Conteneau and R. Ghirshman, Fouilles de Tepe Giyan, près de Nehavend, 1931 et 1932 (Paris, 1935), period and tomb.
- H Hasanlu Tepe
T. C. Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology for Western Iran, 1500-500 B.C.," Iran, 3 (1965), period fig. and no.
- K(horvin) Khorvin
L. Vanden Berghe, La nécropole de Khūrvin (Istanbul, 1964), tomb.
- N1954 Nimrud
J. Lines, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Nimrud," Iraq, 16 (1954), fig. and no.
- N1959 J. Oates, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Fort Shalmaneser," Iraq, 21 (1959), fig. and no.

- P Pasargadae
D. Stronach, Pasargadae (Oxford, 1978), fig. and no.
(A) = Achaemenid
(LA) = Late Achaemenid
(PA) = Post Achaemenid
- Schmidt, 1957 Persepolis
E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis II (Chicago, 1957).
- S Tepe Sialk
R. Ghirshman, Fouilles de Sialk, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1939),
period, fig. and no.
- UM University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Z Ziwiye
T. C. Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology for
Western Iran, 1500-500 B.C.," Iran, 3 (1965), fig. and no. ✓

NB: All references in the columns headed Baba Jan, Nush-i Jan, and
Godin are to the immediately preceding figures in this work.

TABLE 1

TYPOLOGICAL PARALLELS TO GODIN II, NUSH-I JAN I, AND BABA JAN II/I

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
<u>1 Small bowls; horiz. loop handle at rim (general class)</u>				
	21:3,6 II	26:3-6	34:16	Z, 3:16
	23:9 II	28:1,3-8,	37:9	B, 112:3 Post Urartian
	25:12-13 I	10, 12,	38:8-9	G I ¹ , T2, T4
		14, 17,	39:4, 8-9	
		21, 25		
<u>2 Flange rim bowls (general class)</u>				
	22:2-3, 14 II	unpub. Iran, 16:11	34:11 35:19 37:6 38:4-5 40:12	Z, 3:4 N1959, XXV: 12, 25
<u>3 Grater bowl</u>				
	22:1 II/I	unpub. Iran, 16:11	37:6	
<u>4 Concave collar rim bowls</u>				
	21:5 II	-	-	P, 112:9-10 (LA/PA)
<u>5 Large bowls; horiz. loop handle at rim (general class)</u>				
	22:12 II	28:28-9	-	
<u>6 Carinated bowls; flared rims (various types)</u>				
a	22:24 IIa 25:1 I	-	-	P, 106:13 (A) (Z, 3:9; 4:6) A, 14:11 N1954, XXXVII:7-8
b	22:23 II?	-	(16)	
c	25:8 I	-	40:7	A, 14:10 D II, 37:910 H IV, 6:2; 7:8 Z, 3:14 B, 118:18 N1954, XXXVII:9
d	-	-	36:2	A, 15:1 H III, 1:2

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
6 e	-	-	35:17	(Z, 4:7) B, 116:14 Post-Urartian
f	-	-	36:12	H III, 1:4 A, 14:12 P, 107:10 (PA)
g	-	-	35:11	H III, 2:6 P, 106:17-8 (LA/PA)
h	24:7 I	-	-	(P, 106:12) (A)
i	-	28:16	(36:6)	
<u>7 Carinated bowls; various rim types</u>				
a	-	-	34:10 40:14	Z, 3:3 (P, 108:3) (PA) N1954, XXV:11
b	-	26:11	34:14 39:3	A, 14:3
c	25:7 I	unpub. <u>Iran, 16:11</u>	39:5	P, 108:3 (PA)
d	-	-	38:23	H III, 1:6
e	25:10 I	-	35:24	(H IV, 7:8)
f	25:3 I	-	34:15	B, 138:69c
g	-	-	35:27	Z, 4:12
<u>8 Sinuous-sided bowls; flared rims</u>				
a	-	(28:16) 28:22	37:8	P, 108:9 (PA)
b	-	28:18-9	36:4	

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites	
<u>9 Club-rim bowls; various types</u>					
a	22:5-6	II	-	35.21	H III, 1:3 A, 15:12 (B, 126:40) N1954, XXXVII:4,5,10 N1959, XXXV:5,9,24
b	25:6	I	-	36:25	A, 15:9 B, 120:26 H IIIA, unpub. (UM) N1954, XXXVII: 4,10 N1959, XXXV: 18
c	25:5	I	-	(36.8)	
d	-		28:24	40.15	
e	-		28:26	39.4	
f	24:9	I	-	(38.6)	
g	-		-	36.17	(Z, 3:2)
h	25:4	I	28:25	36.27 38:2	
i	-		26:1-2 28:9,13-4	35:26 (36:23)	(P, 112:1) (A?) B, 123:33 H IIIB, Dyson, 1965, fig. 13
j	-		29:7	40:13	H IIIA, unpub. (UM) N1954, XXXVII: 4,10 N1959, XXXV: 18 P, 111:18 (unstrat.) B, 120:26

10 Incurved or "hooked" rim bowls; various types

a	22:12	II	28:28-9	-
	25:11	I	29:1	
b	22:17	II	28:11	-
	23:7-8	II		

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baha Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
10c	25:12 I	28:2-3	-	H III, 1:1
d	25:9 I	-	-	P, 112:1 (A?) A, 22:2 D III, 12:871
11	<u>Nail rim bowls</u>			
a	-	28:27 29:5	38:8,9,25	B, 127:44 H IIIA, unpub. (UM) N1959, XXXV:4
b	-	-	38:1	B, 121:27 N1959, XXXV: 8, 21 H IIIA, unpub. (UM)
12	<u>Pinched rim bowls; various types</u>			
a	22:7 II 24:8 I	-	(37:15)	(Z, 4:1)
b	-	28:21	-	Z, 3:5 A, 15:8
c	-	-	34:2, 16 38:24	P, 110:1,3,4,6 (LA/PA)
13	<u>Pots with freestanding spouts (often trefoil); opp. handle</u>			
	(14:1) III	27:3	(32:4)	AV II-III, XXXVIII G.S. 1221c
	23:1 IF	30:1-2	(33:19)	(H IIIA, 2:4,5)
	25:16 I	unpub., Iran, 16:11	(33:17)	(G I ¹ , T4) S VI, T.38, 5860 A, 14:4-5 Z, unpub. (UM) P, 114:2 (PA)
14	<u>Large pots; trough rims</u>			
	-	31:11	-	H III, 1:8 Z, 4:3 A, 19:9 B, 135:62
15	<u>Cooking pots; everted swollen rim, globular body</u>			
	14:19 III	31:19	34:7	H III, 1:10

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
16	<u>As above; steep, everted rim</u>			
-	-	31:12,17	(34:9)	P, 119:1 (A) P, 120:5 (LA?) (A, 20:8) (B, 136:67b)
17	<u>As above; grooved, everted rim</u>			
22:16	II	31:18	-	
18	<u>Wide-mouthed pots; simple flared rim</u>			
-	-	-	32:10	H III, 1:10 Z, 3:13 (A, 16:4)
19	<u>Holemouth pots; some with lug handle</u>			
14:2	III	-	Gd.I,	P, 118:29 (A)
19:19	III	-	20:11	P, 118:30 (LA)
21:13	II	-	-	(A, 19:4)
20	<u>Holemouth pots; slightly upturned rim</u>			
14:16, 18	III	-	-	P, 118:34 (PA)
21	<u>Deleted</u>			
22	<u>Basket-handled pots; spouted</u>			
19:24	III	(27:1)	-	H IV, 7:4,6
20:22	III	29:18	-	D III, (7,792) D III, 17:937 D II, 28:224
23	<u>Pots; unbridged, horned spouts</u>			
(22:26)	II	31:14	unpub., Gd.73-185	G I ¹ , T.52; pl.36 K, T.11; 12:3-4 S VI, LII, S.571 S VI, LXII, S.770 etc.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
<u>24 Squat pots; free-standing spout; opp. handle</u>				
	21:7 II	29:17	-	H IV, 7:4,6,7 D III, 7:792 D III, 17:937 D III, 28:224 G I ¹ , T.2
<u>25 Deleted:</u>				
<u>26 Small-shaped pots, wide, flared neck</u>				
	24:4-5 I	unpub. <u>Iran, 16:11</u>	(34:18)	(H IIIB, 2:8) (H IIIA, 2:11) (Z, 4:10)
<u>27 Nipple-based goblet</u>				
	24:2 I	unpub. <u>Iran, 7:152</u>	-	A, 23:3 B, 144:81
<u>28 Flat-based goblet</u>				
	24:3 I	unpub. <u>Iran, 7:152</u>	-	(H V, 8:13-4)
<u>29 Globular pots; opp. handles (often "horned")</u>				
	25:15 I	(27:2) 29:13-14 (31:5)	35 :20 41:6	H IV, 6:3; 7:3 A, 15:16; 19:11 Z, unpub. (UM); 3:17; 4:9 B, 144:133a Persepolis, Schmidt, 1957, fig. 7:2 S VI, pl. IV:1-2 G I ¹ , T.28
<u>30 Small, squat pots; two opp. handles (rim to body)</u>				
	21:17 II	26:7-9	(41:3-4)	(H IV, 6:3; 7:3)
	22:20 II	29:9-12, 14		(A, 15:16)
	22:21 II	31:13		(P, 106:3) (A)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
<u>31 Small, squat pots; flared, pinched rim</u>				
	17:2-3 III	-	41:3-4	
	19:5 III/II			
	22:10-11 II			
<u>32 Small, baggy pots; flared neck</u>				
	21:11,16 II	-	-	H IIIA, 2:9 (D, 47:806) (G I ¹ , T.2; T.4; T.16)
<u>33 Small, squat pots, flared neck, vert. handle on shoulder</u>				
	20:14:18 II	-	-	H V, 8:5
<u>34 Small pots; slim body; flared neck; pinched rim</u>				
	20:7 I/II (31.6)		35:4	
	(20:9) II			
<u>35 Deleted.</u>				
<u>36 Small pots; wide-mouthed; glob. body; 2 opp. bar handles</u>				
	24:10 I	-	-	(P, 113:3) (LA/PA)
<u>37 Small pots; everted club rim</u>				
	-	30:6	-	(P, 116:30) (A) B, 134:59a
<u>38 Trefoil-mouthed jug; opposed vert. handle</u>				
	24:1 I	-	-	P, 113:9 (LA/PA) B, 128:46 AV II, 38:B.S.1221b A, 15:15
<u>39 Tall, high-necked jar; single handle rim-shoulder</u>				
	18:2 III	30:3,10-12	(33:12)	(A, 16:3)
	22:25 II			(P, 113:7) (A) (G I ¹ , T.5)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites	
40	<u>Collar-neck jar; various rim treatment</u>				
	16:4 (23:17)	III II?	30:4-5,7-9	32:6 33:14	Z, 3:10
41	<u>Cylindrical neck jar</u>				
	22:22	II	-	-	P, 113:4-5 (LA/PA) P, 120:1 (A) (A, 16:8)
42	<u>Collar-neck jar; slightly flared, swollen rim</u>				
	-	-	33:7	-	P, 118:28 (A, 16:10)
43	<u>Collar-neck jar; rolled club rim</u>				
	-	-	33:9	-	P, 117:23 A, 16:11
44	<u>Variant of above</u>				
	-	-	33:6	-	A, 16:12
45	<u>Grooved, rolled club rim on jar</u>				
	-	-	35:1	-	A, 16:9
46	<u>Slim jar; wide, flared mouth, loop-handle rim-shoulder</u>				
	-	-	32:3	-	(P, 113:6) (LA)
47	<u>Grooved everted rims on jars</u>				
	-	31:7	-	-	P, 119:4 (LA/PA) grooved rims common at Pasargade
48	<u>Carinated collar-neck jar; flared rim</u>				
	-	-	32:14 33:8, 10, 18	-	(Z, 3:15) (P, 118:28) (LA)

TABLE I (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
<u>49</u>	<u>Everted hooked rims on jars</u>			
	20:12	I (31:2)	33:13	P, 118:14
	20:15	IIb		
<u>50</u>	<u>Low, constricted jar neck; simple everted rim</u>			
	-	31:1,4	32:7, 13 33:5	
<u>51</u>	<u>Globular jar; low neck; 1-2 loop-handles on shoulder</u>			
	(20:14)	III?	31:7	32:2,12 (D II, 44:917)
	23:2	II	33:1	D II, 43:918 G I ¹ , T.5; T.16
<u>52</u>	<u>Small globular, flat-based jugs; single loop-handle</u>			
	18:4	III	-	G I ¹ , T.2; T.3; T.4
	21:15	II		
<u>53</u>	<u>Deleted</u>			
<u>54</u>	<u>Free-standing shoulder spout</u>			
	16:2	III	(29:17)	H IV, 7:4, 6, 7
	21:7	II		D, 49:10 G I ¹ , T.2
<u>55</u>	<u>Deleted</u>			
<u>56</u>	<u>Bridged channel spout</u>			
	19:24	III	27:1	(unpub. H IV, 6:8; 7:2
	20:22	III?		Gd.73- H III, 2:1
	25:2	I		185 P, 114:1 (LA) Z, 4:5
<u>57</u>	<u>Deleted</u>			
<u>58</u>	<u>Deleted</u>			

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan.	Nush-i Jan	Godin	Misc. sites
<u>59 Double-loop handle</u>				
	19:24	III	27:1 29:18	-
<u>60 Deleted</u>				
<u>61 Zoomorphic handles</u>				
	15:9-10	III	Iran, 7	40:3
	16:7	III	pl. XIIa	
	unpub.	I		
	Iran, 8:152, n.26			
<u>62 Rim tabs</u>				
	21:18	II	26:10-11	32:10
	25:8	I	29:8	38:23
<u>63 Rim knobs</u>				
	23:7-8	II	26:4	
	25:9-10	I	28:8 29:4	
<u>64 Body knobs</u>				
	23:1	II	31:5,7	
	22:18	II	29:17	
<u>65 Disc bases</u>				
	14:29	III	28:8 29:14 31:16	38:12,17
<u>66 Deleted</u>				

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Type	Baba Jan	Nush-i Jan	Godin-	Misc. sites
<u>67 Hollow pedestal base</u>				
13:38	III	-	-	(D III, 12:717; 15:87) (H V, 8:1) (H IV, 7:5)

TABLE 2
TYPOLOGICAL INTERCONNECTIONS.

N.B. All weak parallels are enclosed by brackets.

Godin II/Nush-i Jan I

1, 2, 3, (6i), 7b, 7c, 8a, 8b, 9d, 9e, 9h, 9i, 9j, 11, 13, 15, (16), 23, (26), 29, (30), (34), (39), 40, (49), 50, 51, 61, 62, 65.

30 parallels (incl. 7 weak)

Godin II/Nush-i Jan I' (excluding parallels also in Baba Jan I)

2, 6i, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9d, 9e, 9i, 9j, 11, 15, (16), (19), 23, (30), (34), (39), 40, 50, 51, 65.

21 parallels (incl. 5 weak)

Godin II/Baba Jan I

1, 3, 6c, 7c, 7e, 7f, 9b, (9c), (9f), 9h, (12a), 13, (26), 29, 49, 61, 62.

17 parallels (incl. 4 weak)

Godin II/Babā Jan II

1, 2, 3, (6b), 9a, (12a), (13), 19, (23), (30), 31, (34), (39), (40), 49, 51, 62.

17 parallels (incl. 8 weak)

Godin II/Hasanlu III-Ziwiye-Nimrud

1, 2, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6f, 6g, 7a, 7d, 7g, 9a, 9b, (9g), 9i, 9j, 11a, 11b, (12a), (13), 15, 18, (26), 29, 40, (48), 56.

26 parallels (incl. 5 weak)

Godin II/Pasargadae/Persepolis

6f, 6g, (7a), 7c, 8a, (9i), 9j, 12c, (13), (16), 19, 29, (30), (39), 42, 43, (46), (48), 49, 56.

20 parallels (incl. 8 weak)

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Nush-i Jan I/Baba Jan I

1, 3, 7c, 9h, 10a, 10c, 13, 26, 27, 28, 29, (34), (49), 56, 61, 62, 63.

17 parallels (incl. 2 weak)

Nush-i Jan I/Baba Jan II

1, 2, 3, 5, 10a, 10b, 13, 17, (23), 24, 30, (34), 39, (40), (49), 51, (54), 62, 63, 64.

20 parallels (incl. 5 weak)

Nush-i Jan I/Hasanlu III-Ziwiye-Nimrud

1, 2, 9i, 9j, 10c, 11a, 12b, 13, 14, 15, (26), 29, 40, 56.

14 parallels (incl. 1 weak)

Nush-i Jan I/Pasargadae/Persepolis

7c, 8a, (9i), 9j, 13, 16, 29, (30), (37), (39), 47, (49), 56.

13 parallels (incl. 5 weak)

Baba Jan I/Hasanlu-Ziwiye-Nimrud

1, (6a), 9b, 10c, (12a), 13, (26), 29.

8 parallels (incl. 3 weak)

Baba Jan I/Pasargadae/Persepolis

6a, (6h), 7c, 10d, 13, 29, (36), 38, 49.

9 parallels (incl. 2 weak)

TABLE 3

TYPOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP OF BABA JAN III/II
COMMON AND IMPORTED WARES

Type	III Common	II Common	II Imported	Remarks
1	13:4,8,9,17, 19,29,32 19:9	-	21:3,6,18 22:8,12 23:7,9	Bowls with horiz. handle at rim. General parallel only.
2	13:4,7	-	21:6,18 22:12 23:7-8	Bowls with hooked rims. General parallel only.
3	13:8-9	-	23:9	Bowls with incurved rim and horiz. handle. Good parallel.
4	15:26	-	22:14	Flange-rim bowl. Good parallel but 15:26 is grey ware and in poor context.
5	-	21:17	22:20-21	Squat pot with two vert. strap handles. Good parallel.
6	17:2-3 19:5	-	22:11	Small pot, squat, flat base, slightly flared neck, simple pinched rim. General parallel only.
7	16:3	21:9-10 23:15	23:3	Loop-handled cups. Good parallel.
8	16:2	-	21:7	Small pot with free- standing tubular spout. General parallel only.
9	14:19 15:46	-	23:1	Large, wide-mouthed pot with sharply everted rim. General parallel only.

TABLE 4

TYPOLOGICAL PARALLELS BETWEEN BABA JAN III AND IRON II SITES

	Baba Jan III	Iron II sites	Remarks
1	13:4,8,9	K, T.1:2; 2:1; 4:1	Shallow bowls with horiz. handle at rim.
2	12:29,32	K, T.6:1	Deep bowls, straight-sided; horiz. handle or zoomorphic lug at rim.
3	13:9,26 17:6,8	D III, 12:871 D III, 13:85	Bowls with sharply inverted rims.
4	16:3	K, T.1:4; 2:2	Sinuuous-sided cups.
5	12:passim.	D III, 12:952 K, T.1:3	Small globular pots with flat bases.
6	16:7,10	K, T.2:4	Globular pots with lugs.
7	15:16,18 19:24 20:22	K, T.8:8 D III, 7:792 D III, 17:937 D II, 28:224 H V, 7:4,6	Basket-handled "teapots".
8	16:2,6	K, T.8:8 D III, 7:792 D II, 28:224 D II, 49:108	Small pots with tubular spouts.
9	16:4	H IV, 6:9	Biconical jars, flat bases, and constricted flared neck.
10	22:26 (II?)	D III, 3:237 K, T.9:8	Unbridged beak spout.
11	20:22	D II, 26:335 D II, 27:238 D II, 32:336 H IV, 6:8	Bridged spouts.
12	15:9-10 17:1, 10	D II, 32:401 H IV, Dyson, 1965, fig. 13, period IV, left.	Zoomorphic lugs. General parallel.

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Baba Jan III		Iron II sites	Remarks
13	15:11 17:10	H IV, 6:3 Z, 3:17	Knobbed and tab handles. General parallel.
14	13:38	H IV, 7:5 D II, 49:231	Hollow pedestals.
15	17:3 (grey ware)	D II, 37:40 H IV, 6:7-8	Gadrooned decoration.

TABLE 5

ARCHITECTURAL PARALLELS: HASANLU IV & CENTRAL-WEST IRANIAN SITES

Feature	Hasanlu IV Burā Bldgs.	Baba Jan IV Manor	Baba Jan III Ptd. Chamber	Baba Jan III Fort	Godin II Manor	Nush-i Jan I -Fort	Nush-i Jan I Col. Hall
Portico entrance	X	X	-	-	(-)	-	-
Anteroom	X	X	-	(-)	-	X	-
Hall entrance on axis	X	-	-	X	(-)	X	X
Hall entrance on side	X	X	X	-	X	-	-
1-2 rows of columns	X	(X)	X	(X)	X	-	-
3 rows or more	-	-	-	-	X	-	X
Columns along walls	X	(X)	-	-	-	-	-
Wall benches	X	(X)	-	-	X	-	(X)
"Throne" on back wall	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
Hearth in front of "throne"	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
Built-in fireplace	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
Blind windows	X	-	X	-	(-)	-	X
Buttressed/recessed walls	X	X	-	X	X	X	X
Reveals on doorways	X	-	X	X	X	X	X
Second floor	X	-	(X)	X	X	X	-
Corbelled mudbrick arches	(-)	(-)	(X)	X	X	X	X
Mudstrut vaulting	(-)	-	-	X	(X)	X	-
Ramp/stair with central pillar	X	-	-	X	X	X	-
Domestic only	?	X	-	-	-	-	X
Domestic and defensive	?	-	-	X	X	X	-
Ceremonial function	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
Side rooms	X	X	-	X	-	-	-
Magazines	X	-	-	-	X	X	-

Key: X = trait present
 - = trait absent
 (X) = possibly present; evidence ambiguous
 (-) = insufficient evidence to judge

TABLE 6

SURVEY DATA FROM THE KANGAVAR VALLEY, IRAN

Period	Total No. Sites	Single Period	Begin & Continue	Contin- Occup.	Terminal Occup.	Total Area (Ha.)	Size Range % Area (Ha)
Godin III	60	33 (55%)	12 (20%)	5 (8%)	10 (17%)	c. 79	86% 9 5 (2 sites) 15+ 2-5
Iron I/II	23	4 (17%)	2 (9%)	13 (57%)	4 (17%)	c. 30	78% 22 2-5
Iron III	33	15 (46%)	3 (9%)	7 (22%)	8 (24%)	c. 38+ Godin Tepe	79% 21 2-5

Source: T.C. Young, Jr., Iran, 13 (1975), pp. 191-193 and unpublished field notes kindly supplied by Young.

TABLE 7

RADIOCARBON DETERMINATIONS FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE OF WESTERN IRAN

	UNCORRECTED			MASCA CORRECTED	
		$t_{1/2} = 5568$	$t_{1/2} = 5730$	b.c.	$t_{1/2} = 5730$ b.c.
		B.P.	B.P.		
LATER BRONZE AGE					
Guran (Glyan III/II)	K-856	3170±120	3265	1315	1510-1540
Dinkha IV	P-1231	3285±50	3384	1434	1650
Dinkha IV	P-1232	3402±50	3504	1554	1720-1870
Dinkha IV	P-1450	3434±61	3537	1587	1780-1910
Dinkha IV	P-1233	3458±59	3562	1612	1920-1950
Dinkha IV	P-1430	3468±59	3572	1622	1920-1950
Dinkha IV	P-1552	3468±59	3572	1622	1920-1950
Dinkha IV	P-1452	3522±63	3628	1678	2050
Dinkha IV	P-1431	3598±66	3706	1756	2110
	(char./dirt)				
IRON AGE I					
Hasanlu V	R-419	2880±45	2966	1016	1150
Hasanlu V	P-418	2889±49	2986	1036	1170-1180
Hasanlu V	P-185*	3000±120	3090	1140	1300
Dinkha III		3005±36	3095	1145	1300
Hasanlu V	P-198*	3083±122	3175	1225	1400-1450
Dinkha III	P-1449	3099±71	3191	1242	1460
Dinkha III	P-1474	3157±55	3252	1302	1510

TABLE 7 (Continued)

	UNCORRECTED		MASCA CORRECTED			
	$t_{1/2} = 5568$ B.P.	$t_{1/2} = 5370$ B.P.	$5\frac{1}{2} = 5730$ b.c.	b.c.		
IRON AGE II						
Hasanlu IV	P-865*	(grain)	2529±53	2604	654	780
Hasanlu IV	P-863	(grain)	2604±55	2682	732	810
Hasanlu IV	P-861	(grain)	2627±53	2705	755	820-840
Hasanlu IV	P-906	(grain)	2648±54	2727	777	850-880
Hasanlu IV	P-862	(char.)	2665±46	2744	795	880-900
Godin II	P-1471	(grain/dirt)	2673±52	2753	803	880-900
Hasanlu IV	P-576	(grain)	2681±69	2761	811	900
Godin II	Gak-1069	(grain/char.)	2693±100	2774	824	900
Hasanlu IV	P-907	(grapes)	2699±53	2779	829	900
Hasanlu IV	P-905	(grain)	2700±54	2781	831	900
Hasanlu IV	P-860	(grain)	2718±35	2799	849	910-930
Hasanlu IV	P-250	(beam)	2740±79	2822	872	940-980
Hasanlu IV	P-1470	(char.)	2742±41	2824	874	940-980
Godin II	P-187	(ash)	2765±117	2848	898	960-1010
Hasanlu IV	P-111	(ash)	2770±130	2853	903	960-1010
Hasanlu IV	P-577	(char./grapes)	2779±69	2862	912	1010
Hasanlu IV	P-439	(char.)	2811±64	2895	945	1030-1080±
Hasanlu IV	P-424	(char./beam)	2816±55	2900	950	1030-1080
Hasanlu IV	P-1230	(char./wall)	2825±56	2910	960	1030-1100
Hasanlu IV	P-437	(char./beam)	2841±63	2926	976	1100
Hasanlu IV	P-322	(char.)	2857±54	2942	992	1110
Hasanlu IV	P-323	(char./beam)	2858±45	2943	993	1110
Hasanlu IV	P-440	(char./beam)	2864±64	2949	999	1110-1140
Hasanlu IV	P-425	(char./beam)	2872±62	2958	1008	1110
Hasanlu IV	P-186	(ash)	2881±119	2967	1017	1150
Hasanlu IV	P-423	(beam)	2896±51	2982	1032	1160-1180
Hasanlu IV	P-421	(beam)	2913±56	3000	1050	1170-1210

TABLE 7 (Continued)

		UNCORRECTED		MASCA CORRECTED	
		$t_2 = 5568$ B.P.	$t_2 = 5730$ B.P.	$t_2 = 5730$ b.c.	$t_2 = 5730$ b.c.
<u>IRON AGE III</u>					
Agrab Tepe	(reeds)	P-893*	2289±47	2358	408
Hasanlu III	(char.)	P-582	2294±52	2363	413
Hasanlu III	(char.)	P-420*	2347±54	2417	467
Ziwiye (later)	(char.)	P-872	2361±54	2431	482
Agrab Tepe	(burned beam)	P-879	2391±54	2463	513
Agrab Tepe	(char.)	P-979	2457±51	2531	581
Hasanlu III	(char./wheat)	P-398	2473±54	2547	597
Ziwiye (earlier)	(char.)	P-875	2485±44	2559	609
Ziwiye (earlier)	(char.)	P-873	2486±54	2560	610
Hasanlu III	(char.)	P-399	2521±54	2596	646
Hasanlu III	(grain)	P-903	2521±52	2596	646
Agrab Tepe	(char.)	P-980	2540±56	2616	666
Godin II	(char./dirt)	P-1472	2550±53	2626	676
Agrab Tepe	(char.)	P-894	2582±55	2659	709
Agrab Tepe	(char.)	P-895	2665±54	2745	795
Nush-i Jan I	(wood)	Iran, 7:16	2673±220	2753	803
					420
					420
					440-460
					440-470
					490
					660-730
					740
					750
					750
					780
					780
					750
					790
					800
					880-900
					880-900

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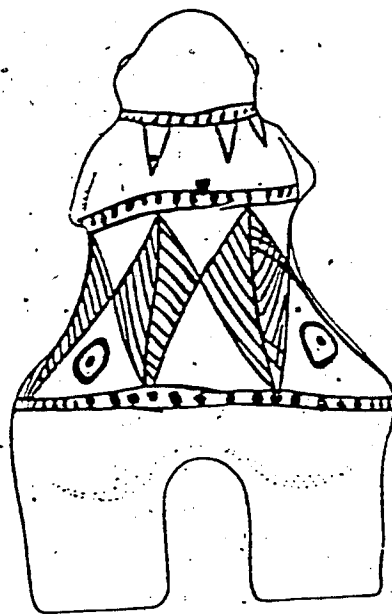
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